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CONTENTS

SOME NOTES ON EARLY CONNECTICUT PRINTING	<i>Albert Carlos Bates</i>	1
LELAND STANFORD AND H. H. BANCROFT'S "HISTORY"	<i>George T. Clark</i>	12
CHARLES GAYARRÉ, 1805-95 . . .	<i>Edward Larocque Tinker</i>	24
PRINTER'S COPY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	<i>Frederick A. Pottle</i>	65
SIDE LIGHTS ON WILLIAM JAMES LINTON, 1812-97	<i>W. F. Hopson</i>	74
THE ELIZABETHAN CLUB OF YALE UNIVERSITY	<i>Gilbert McCoy Troxell</i>	83
JAMES JOHNS, VERMONT PEN PRINTER	<i>Robert W. G. Vail</i>	89



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*Some Notes on
Early Connecticut Printing*

BY ALBERT CARLOS BATES

PAGES 1-11

*Leland Stanford and
H. H. Bancroft's "History"*

BY GEORGE T. CLARK

PAGES 12-23

*Charles Gayarré
1805-95*

BY EDWARD LAROCQUE TINKER

PAGES 24-64

SOME NOTES ON EARLY CONNECTICUT PRINTING

By ALBERT CARLOS BATES

FOR a considerable number of years—more, perhaps, than I would care to admit—I have been interested in whatever relates to the early printers and printing in Connecticut. The period which may be designated as “early” begins with the introduction of printing into the colony in 1709 and ends with the close of the eighteenth century—not quite an hundred years.

Considerable work has been done upon the bibliography of Connecticut imprints. The pioneer in the field was J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D., who for many years previous to his death in 1897 had carefully noted on cards such imprints as came to his attention. His list was published in 1904 by the Acorn Club of Connecticut. It does not contain lists of either session laws or broadsides. A few years earlier, in 1900, a bibliography of Connecticut laws was published. Rev. W. De Loss Love in his *Fasts and thanksgivings of New England*, lists eighteenth-century broadside proclamations. An article which appeared in the American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings* for 1914 gives a list of Connecticut almanacs. There are also several other publications which give shorter lists of Connecticut imprints, either on special subjects or of those issued in some particular place. Lastly comes the wonderful work of Charles Evans in his *American bibliography*. This contains many Connecticut imprints that had not been previously noted and listed. To the foregoing are to be added some that have been noted by

the writer of this, which do not appear in any of the printed bibliographies.

It goes without saying that copies of few of these early Connecticut imprints are common. Many of them are spoken of as "uncommon," "scarce," "rare," "very rare," or "excessively rare." These expressions, like the terms "heat" and "cold," are only relative. Is a publication of which 500 copies were issued rare if, let us say, 20 copies of it can be located? Is one more rare when two copies are known out of an edition of 80 than another where there are the same number known out of an edition of 200? Have any of you ever paused to consider how many publications are listed in the various bibliographies of which not more than two, or in numerous instances, only one copy is known to exist? Or have you ever gone still farther and thought of the books, pamphlets, and broadsides which are known to have been printed or of whose printing there is what seems to be reasonable and adequate grounds for belief, but of which no copies are known to exist? Here is rarity in the highest degree. And when, as still happens not infrequently, a hitherto unknown and entirely unexpected imprint comes to light, the bibliographer is led to wonder how many other such imprints will eventually appear, and also how many others there were that are unheard of and of which no copies will ever be found.

Let us consider some specific instances of rarity of individual imprints. Connecticut's first printer was Thomas Short, a native of Maine, who, while a boy, was made an orphan and carried captive to Canada in an Indian raid. He was later redeemed, probably by his brother-in-law, Bartholomew Green, a printer of Boston, who undoubtedly brought him up and taught him his trade. In 1709 Short came to New London as official printer for the colony. His contract specified that he should print the colony laws which were then in manuscript, the acts passed at subsequent sessions of the general assembly and all fast, thanksgiving, and other official proclamations. His first work is believed to have been the proclamation for a fast on

June 27, 1709. Under the terms of his contract about 60 copies would be called for, and it seems safe to say that the edition was less than 100 copies. Only one of these has survived. There were 12 other fasts or thanksgivings during his time of printing; but no copies of the proclamations for any of them can be found. The laws "then in manuscript" were soon put in type; but only one copy, and that imperfect, has survived. Of the eleven session laws which he printed, there are three that are each represented by a single example; and one of these three is in London, England. One of his imprints is the election sermon for 1710, the first of this long series to be printed within the colony, a copy of which has an auction record of above \$1,500, the highest price ever paid for a Connecticut imprint.

Following the death of Short in 1712, Timothy Green, of Boston, a younger brother of Bartholomew, came to New London in 1714 as official printer and continued in that capacity until 1756. Apparently his contract was very similar to Short's, for he printed election sermons, official proclamations, and session laws, and in addition numerous unofficial books and pamphlets. One of his early printings was the proclamation for a fast on August 24, 1714, one copy of which is known. There were, in all, 101 fasts and thanksgivings for which he doubtless printed proclamations; but examples of only 12 can now be found, and six of these are represented by a single copy. Joseph Moss's *Almanack*¹ for 1720, printed by him, is known by a single copy, which was, and perhaps still is, in private ownership. John Hart's *Sermon on the death of Hannah Meigs*, printed in 1728, the only published work of the first actual student of Yale College, is known by a single copy which came to light in 1898.

An account of the surprising events of Providence, written about the falling of a bridge being erected at Norwich in 1728, and printed by Green, was perhaps known only through a mention of the pamphlet in a history of that town, until a copy appeared about ten years ago in an auction sale. Another *Account*, printed

¹ Titles mentioned in this paper (given in italics) are usually abbreviated.

by Green in 1736, relates to the "spiritual experiences and rapturous and pious expressions of Elizabeth Mixer." The only copy of this that has come to light is in a collection owned in Maine. The act passed by Parliament in 1751 "for regulating the commencement of the year and for correcting the calendar now in use" was officially reprinted by Green the following year in an edition of 86 copies. It was thought that no copy of this imprint remained; but in 1920 one appeared in a New York book auction. Another series of three Parliamentary acts reprinted by Green in 1753, and now each represented by a single copy, contains acts for "the better preservation of His Majesty's woods," for "encouraging the growth of coffee," and relating to the "attestation of Wills." The session laws of May, 1749, were believed to have been printed; but no copy was known to bibliographers until one was found a few years ago in the library of a deceased judge of the supreme court of the state. In 1754 Green put out a special edition of 102 copies of the recently revised *Acts and laws* of the colony. Less than ten copies of this early official "limited edition" have survived.

The third official printer in Connecticut was John Green, a son of Timothy, who died in 1757 about a year after his appointment. Previous to this appointment, he had printed in 1754 a small juvenile, *The history of the Holy Jesus*. The only known copy of this publication was picked up some thirty-five years ago in a secondhand store in Hartford. Martha Brewster's *Poems*, printed by John in 1757, appears to have been known by a single copy until 1925, when a second copy was found in a country attic. An English act relating to the exportation of grain and meat was officially reprinted by him in an edition of 80 copies. Two of these have survived to the present time. No copy of the proclamation for a fast in August, 1757, which he doubtless printed, is known. A copy of Samuel Moody's *School of good manners*, with the imprint "New London, T. and J. Green, 1754," was seen in 1908.

The fourth official printer, Timothy, brother of John Green,

held the office from 1758 to 1763. One of his printings was *The New London summary*, a weekly newspaper which was issued for a little more than five years. Only 83 issues, some of them imperfect, being less than one-third of the number published, and a few duplicate copies, are now known. The situation is somewhat similar with many of the other early Connecticut newspapers. Only one fairly complete file and several incomplete files of each paper are to be found. Such is the case with the *Connecticut gazette* and with the *Connecticut journal* of New London, the *Connecticut courant* of Hartford, and the *Middlesex gazette* of New London.

The fifth and last official printer of Connecticut was another Timothy Green, nephew of his predecessor, who held the office from 1763 to 1794. This covers the period of the American Revolution, and during those years a flood of broadsides appeared from the presses of Green and of other printers. Two libraries possess copies of the "Act" printed in August, 1765, imposing stamp duties; but no copy is to be found of the governor's proclamation issued the following month "to suppress Riots," probably in connection with these duties. The last week in April, 1775, a proclamation for an embargo on the exportation of provision was issued. No one of the 80 copies printed is now known. Then came a proclamation of 400 copies stating the wages of soldiers—no copy known. Next a vote of the assembly to encourage the making of firelocks—no copy known. This was followed by 400 "beating orders," so-called, authorizing enlistments, of which one, possibly two, have survived. The same number of copies were printed of a vote of the assembly "recommending sobriety" to the people; only one or two copies of which are known. In May another embargo was laid—80 copies printed, none to be found. Again in August came still another embargo—140 copies printed, none to be found. An act for raising and equipping a body of minutemen was passed in December, 1775; only one of the 350 copies printed can now be found. And so it was all through the period of the Revolution.

Broadsides were constantly being issued by the colony or state, usually in small editions. I will not weary you in attempting to further enumerate them, except to mention one that seems of especial interest.

This is a *Proclamation for reformation*, so-called, but which in its contents amounts to practically a declaration of independence by the colony from the authority of Great Britain. Drawn up by William Williams, who composed many of the official documents of his father-in-law, Governor Jonathan Trumbull, it was signed by the governor, printed, and published June 18, 1776. The number printed is not known; but apparently not more than two copies have survived.

If broadsides are considered, New Haven imprints of which not more than one or two copies are known are numerous, as they include many rare Yale publications, as well as resolves and other ephemeral publications issued by authority of the general assembly. Among pamphlets there is *A plain sermon for little children*, the third edition (New Haven, 1761), of which only an imperfect copy has been seen; and Hezekiah Goodwin's *Vision of the departed spirit of Mr. Yeamans* (New Haven, about 1788), of which one copy is known. *The American singing book* by Daniel Read was first published in New Haven in 1785, and only one copy of this issue appears to be recorded; the second, third, and fourth editions and the supplement, all published at New Haven, are scarcely less rare. *The advantages and disadvantages of the marriage state* was printed at New Haven in 1797, and it certainly is to be regretted that but one copy of this tract is now to be found. *A Faithful narrative of Elizabeth Wilson*, who was executed at Chester, Pennsylvania, in 1786, was reprinted the same year in New Haven. Only one copy can now be located. Bernard Romans' map of "Connecticut and parts adjacent," published in 1777, probably in New Haven, is known by one copy in this country and possibly another in England. Only two copies have been found of Abel Buel's "Map of the United States," issued at New Haven in 1784.

Taken as a whole, the Norwich imprints are interesting. There is Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* (1791), of which the writer has seen but two copies; and *Tom Thumb's play book* (1795), only one copy seen. Of Joshua Smith's *Divine hymns* (1784), only one copy appears to have been recorded. The second number, and presumably other numbers, of Thomas Paine's *American crisis* was reprinted at Norwich in 1777; but one copy of this issue has been seen. The first edition of Samuel Fish's *Humble address to every Christian* (Norwich, 1792) appears to be known by a single copy, although the reprints of 1793 and 1794 are not uncommon.

Thomas Green, brother of Timothy the fifth official printer, established himself in Hartford late in 1764. His first-known printing was Ellsworth's *Almanack* for 1765. One perfect and one imperfect copy of this *Almanack* are all that can now be located. Only one copy is known of Green's reprint in 1767 of a sermon by William Bates entitled *Christ in the clouds*; and the same is true of the first edition of Ebenezer Gay's *Sermon*, printed the same year, on the death of three young men who were killed by lightning at Suffield. A broadside account in verse of this melancholy event, illustrated with a doleful wood-cut showing three coffins, believed to have been printed by Green in Hartford, exists in two copies.

One document having to do with the Revolution, probably printed at Hartford in 1777, of which no copy can now be found, although one existed in 1846, is a pamphlet entitled, *The last speech and dying words of Moses Dunbar who was executed at Hartford on the 19th day of March 1777 for high treason against the state of Connecticut*. This is said to have been the only execution in the state for treason during the Revolution.

There is one other Hartford imprint that is of sufficient interest to mention, although it is not limited to one or two copies. This is Bernard Romans' *Annals of the troubles in the Netherlands*, volume I of which was published in 1778 and is a fairly scarce, but not a rare book. It is, by the way, the first book in

Hartford, and perhaps in Connecticut, to have a rubricated title. Volume II, which appeared four years later, in 1782, without rubrication, is of considerable rarity, probably less than half a dozen copies being known. The reason why the second volume is so much rarer than the first is unknown.

An answer to the Rev. Joseph Lathrop by Paaneah Zaphnath, printed at Windham in 1793, appears to be known by a single copy. The same is true of the *Travels of Robinson Crusoe*, printed in 1796. *The trial, condemnation and horrid execution of David M'Lean at Quebec who was hanged, drawn, quartered and beheaded* was printed at Windham in 1797. This pamphlet, probably the same copy, appeared in auction sales in 1924 and 1926.

Rare imprints in other towns include the *New England primer* (Middletown, 1786) and *Sermon at celebration of St. John's lodge* by Enoch Huntington (Middletown, 1797), one copy of each located; John Blair's *Essays on the sacraments, regeneration and means of grace* (Litchfield, about 1789), one copy located and probably another existing; *New game of cards* (Windham, about 1792), one copy located.

Rarity of copies extends to the work done by printers in the smaller towns. There is the *New England primer* issued at Suffield in 1798, two copies known, each with a different imprint; William Billings' *Vision experienced by Eliza Thomas*, printed in 1800, undoubtedly at Stonington Port, although no place is given on the title, one copy seen; Oliver Brownson's *New collection of sacred harmony* (Simsbury, 1797), one copy located; *Masonry in its glory* by David Austin, Jr. (East Windsor, 1800), one copy seen; *Sketch of Hannah Dyckman* by Andrew Fowler (Danbury, 1795), one copy located; *In what only true religion consists* by Gershom Raymond (Fairfield, 1788), only one copy noted; and *The child's instructor* (Newfield, 1799), two copies seen.

This list of what are believed to be unique copies might be greatly extended; but enough has been said to show that such items are not unusual.

One treads on uncertain and dangerous ground when speaking of imprints of which only a single copy is believed to be known. There may be other copies on the shelves of collectors who prefer to have their treasures remain unknown to others, or libraries which have not been examined may be found to contain copies of publications which had previously been thought to be unique. And at any time, one or a number of copies of a publication not previously known may come to light. Such was the case with the sermon entitled *Judas the traitor hung up in chains*, preached by Rev. Samuel Moodey at York, Maine, and "Printed for the widow Sarah Diodate" at New Haven in 1761. This sermon was unheard of until about twenty-five years ago, when someone, somewhere, discovered a remainder of the edition. Almost simultaneously, fresh, untrimmed, and unopened copies were offered by numerous dealers at varying and gradually decreasing prices.

This brings to mind another Connecticut pamphlet, printed about the same time as the Moodey sermon, a copy of which will appear perhaps once in five years in an auction or a dealer's catalogue, where it will be noted as "very rare." Probably there are only two or three readers of the catalogue who are aware that there is a remainder being held back by one party, evidently in the hope of a further advance in the price.

All of this leads me to say that, while in this paper various publications are spoken of as being represented by a single copy or as having been printed but no copy now known to exist, I am well aware that some of these statements may be open to correction by my hearers. Other copies may have come to light which are unknown to me. For any such errors, I can only ask your indulgence and kindly criticism.

As to the total number of eighteenth-century Connecticut imprints, only an estimate can be given, as there must be many of which no copies or record of their issue exists. The following figures amount only to an approximate total; Trumbull's *List of books*, omitting almanacs, laws, and broadsides, 1,500; *Check*

list of Connecticut almanacs, published by the American Antiquarian Society, 280 of which copies are known, to which 20 that have since come to notice may be added, and 70 of which no copies are known; *Bibliographical list of Connecticut laws*, published by the Acorn Club, omitting broadside laws, 385, to which is to be added 35 broadsides that are noted either in the *List* or in Evans; Love's *Fasts and thanksgivings* locates 100 proclamations and lists 120 other dates for which proclamations were doubtless issued, although no copies are now to be found.

Other broadsides listed by Evans include 125 relating to Yale College and 50 on miscellaneous subjects. Lists of nominations for assistants and for members of Congress may be estimated at 55 at least, of which only a few are known. Books and pamphlets that do not appear in any of the bibliographical publications noted above which are listed in Evans' *American bibliography* or which have come to the writer's personal notice number 810. Sundry publications, chiefly broadsides, which are found in a *List of official publications of Connecticut, 1774-1788*, published by the Acorn Club, and which appear not to be listed elsewhere, number approximately 175, without counting such minor publications as sundry commissions, warrants, executions, and receipts. Apparently copies of none of these are known.

The items here given make a total of 3,625; and it seems reasonable to believe that there were enough others printed of which we have no knowledge, to raise the total to at least 4,000.

A word, in closing, as to the number of copies printed of official publications about the period of the Revolution. In 1764-66 there were 90 copies of the list of nominations for assistants, 140 copies of a proclamation for a fast, 300 of some other proclamations, 300-350 of the election sermon, and 500 of the session laws. The session laws from 1750 were reprinted as a compilation in 1768 and were issued in an edition of 1,100 copies, and thereafter for many years that number was printed of the acts of each

session. By 1770 the number of copies of nominations was increased to 100, and of fast and thanksgiving proclamations to 300 or 325. *The Susquehannah case* appeared in 1774 in an edition of 400 copies. By the close of the Revolution the edition of election sermons had increased to 500 copies, and of nominations for assistants and for delegates to Congress sometimes to 300. The numerous separately printed acts which were issued for special purposes appeared in editions of from 400 to 600, and in at least one instance 800 copies for the more important ones; while broadsides of less importance sometimes ranged downward to as few as 100, 80, and even 60 copies. The Articles of Confederation appeared in an edition of 300 copies. There were 1,000 copies of the *Scheme* of the Connecticut State Lottery in 1781 accompanied by 20,000 lottery tickets. General Washington's *Address* in 1783 required 600 copies. In 1775 and 1776 alone, 560,000 "bills" in denominations of from six pence to forty shillings were printed; and this number probably refers to the number of sheets, each of which would contain at least nine bills—money enough, it would seem, to supply the needs of all Connecticut's inhabitants. Let it be said to the credit of Connecticut that none of her bills were defaulted, but all were redeemed.

LELAND STANFORD AND H. H. BANCROFT'S "HISTORY"

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CURIOSITY

By GEORGE T. CLARK

SOME twenty years ago there was turned over to the Stanford University Library that portion of Leland Stanford's private library which had been housed in his Palo Alto home. In the collection was a fine set of the "Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft" in thirty-nine volumes, bound in full morocco and with gilt edges, obviously Stanford's personal copy. Recently, while in pursuit of information relative to Leland Stanford, the writer discovered in Volume VI of the *History of California*, page 723, a footnote reading thus:

For further mention of Mr. Stanford as governor, United States senator, and president of the Central Pacific railroad see vol. 7, pp. 431, 544, 555-6, *passim*. The section on routes and transportation in my *Chronicles of the Kings* will contain a complete history of his life, including a full description of his political and railroad career and of the Leland Stanford Junior University founded at Palo Alto in memory of his son.

To one searching for information concerning Governor Stanford, this note was very encouraging; and reference was quickly made to the work above referred to, actually published under the title *Chronicles of the builders of the commonwealth*. Therein was found an adequate biography of Collis P. Huntington, and one also of Charles Crocker, who, together with Mark Hopkins and Stanford, composed the "big four" who constructed the Central Pacific and Southern Pacific railroads; but not a line was given to Stanford. Assuming that Bancroft would not have promised a life of Stanford without expecting to make good,

inquiry was made at the Bancroft library of the University of California, in the hope that the proposed life might be found there in manuscript form. The hope proved to be well grounded, for, in response to the inquiry, there was immediately produced a bundle of manuscripts relating to Leland Stanford, one of which, comprising three hundred typewritten pages, apparently was the life prepared for publication in the *Chronicles of the builders*, for the galley numbers, running as high as eighty-nine, written on the margins of the copy indicated that the manuscript had been in the printer's hands and had been set up in type. Why had it been killed?

Another problem is presented to us by the discovery that page 723 in Stanford's copy of the *History of California*, Volume VI, seems to be unique and probably was prepared solely for his consumption, for in no other copy which thus far has come under the writer's notice is there any reference to Stanford on the page in question beyond the brief statement that the Republicans nominated him for governor.

Let us glance briefly at these two men, and find, if we can, answers to these two problems. Hubert Howe Bancroft was born on a farm in Ohio and enjoyed only those educational advantages offered by the country school of that day, together with a year at an academy. In 1848, at the age of sixteen, he went to work for his brother-in-law in a bookstore at Buffalo. This experience seems not to have been very happy for either and was soon terminated. Bancroft had a varied career in California from 1852 to 1855, went home on a visit, returned to San Francisco, and in December, 1856, established the firm of H. H. Bancroft and Company, dealers in books and stationery, at Montgomery and Merchant streets. He was shrewd, enterprising, and courageous. His business grew and prospered. In his *Literary industries* he states, "Accumulating property was never a difficult thing for me to do." In the course of his book business he branched out into publishing also. "I always had," he states, "a taste more pleasant than profitable, for publishing

gress. John Currey, formerly a district judge, and a personal friend of Broderick, but who had turned republican, was nominated for governor at his suggestion, perhaps with a view to fusion. John Conness was nominated for lieutenant-governor; Samuel A. Booker of San Joaquin for second congressman; Royal T. Sprague for judge of the supreme court; and Edmund Randolph for attorney-general.

The republicans nominated Leland Stanford for governor; James F. Kennedy, lieutenant-governor; O. L. Shaffer, supreme judge; McKibben and E. D. Baker for congressmen. The Lecomptonites nominated Latham for governor; John G. Downey, lieutenant-governor; W. W. Cope, supreme judge; attorney-general, Thomas H. Williams;⁵⁸ and for congressmen, John C. Burch and Charles L. Scott. Gwin had returned to California, and the campaign opened with these personal and acrimonious attacks, which soon made it evident that the Lecomptonites meant to provoke a resort to the code of the duello.

Said a leading journal: "We speak the convictions which have been forced upon the minds of all men who have read the speeches of Broderick and Gwin, that a bloody termination of this controversy is expected by the friends of both senators, and that it is one for which one or both are prepared. Commencing with Gwin's second speech in the canvass, there has been a pointed avowal of his readiness to 'settle their private gricfs in a private manner,' coupled with sneers, insults, and personal affronts on every occasion on which the elder senator has alluded particularly to his younger rival. The organs on that side do not

⁵⁸ Williams was born in Ky, in 1828, and educated at Centre College, Danville, studying law afterward at Louisville. He came to California overland in 1850, settling in El Dorado co. After the expiration of his term of office he removed to Sac., where he practised law. When the Comstock lode came into notoriety he removed to Nevada, where he was a member of the legislature in 1864. He purchased a valuable property in Oakland, Cal., which latter became his home. He married Mary Bryant of S. F. in 1856, who died in 1866. They had 6 children, 4 of whom were sons. *Sac. Union*, Aug. 13, 1859.

gress, and by this combination John Currey was nominated for governor. For lieutenant-governor the choice fell on John Conness; second congressman Samuel A. Booker; supreme court judge, Royal T. Sprague; attorney-general, Edmund Randolph.

By the republican party itself Leland Stanford was nominated for the governorship. The choice was a strong one, the strongest beyond a doubt that could possibly have been made. At a time when for a man to declare himself a republican was to take his life into his own hands, he had come boldly forward as the champion of that party, of which he was now the leader, as he had been one of the founders, and to no other man was it so deeply indebted, while weathering the storms of this troublous period. By his strength of will, his continuity of purpose, his originality of thought, his large and liberal views, and above all by his rare administrative faculty, he was admirably fitted for the executive office at this crisis in the history of state and nation. But this was not to be; the victory declared for the Lecomptonites, and the final triumph of the republicans was for the time postponed.⁵⁰ The remaining candidates were Kennedy for lieutenant-governor; O. L. Shafter, supreme court judge, and McKibben and G. D. Baker for congress-men.

The Lecomptonites nominated Latham for governor; John G. Downey for lieutenant-governor; W. W. Cope, supreme court judge; Thomas H. Williams, attorney-general, and for congressmen, John C. Burch and Charles L. Scott. Gwin had returned to California, and the campaign opened with such acrimonious onslaughts as soon betrayed the intention of the Lecomptonites to provoke a resort to the code of the duello.

Said a prominent journal: "Their organs do not

⁵⁰For further mention of Mr Stanford as governor, U. S. senator, and president of the Cent. Pac. railroad, see vol. vii. pp. 431, 544, 555-6, passim. The section on routes and transportation in my *Chronicles of the Kings* will contain a complete history of his life, including a full description of his political and railroad career, and of the Leland Stanford junior university, founded at Palo Alto in memory of his son.

books, for conceiving a work and having it wrought out under my direction. To this taste may be attributed the origin of half the books published in California during the first twenty years of its existence if we except law reports, legislative proceedings, directories and compilations of that character."

The inception of that remarkable collection of material on the history of the western states of North America, now known as the Bancroft library of the University of California, is thus related:

In 1859 William H. Knight, then in my service as editor and compiler of statistical works relative to the Pacific coast, was engaged in preparing the *Hand-Book Almanac* for the year 1860. From time to time he asked of me certain books required for the work. It occurred to me that we should probably have frequent occasion to refer to books on California, Oregon, Washington, and Utah, and that it might be more convenient to have them all together. . . . I requested Mr. Knight to clear the shelves around his desk, and to them I transferred every book I could find in my stock having reference to this country. I succeeded in getting together some fifty or seventy-five volumes. This was the origin of my library. . . . I thought no more of the matter till some time afterward, happening in at the bookstore of Epes Ellery, on Washington street, called antiquarian because he dealt in second-hand books, though of recent dates, my eyes lighted on some old pamphlets, printed at different times in California, and it occurred to me to add them to the Pacific coast books over Mr. Knight's desk. This I did, and then examined more thoroughly the stocks of Ellery, Carrie and Damon, and the Noisy Carrier, and purchased one copy each of all the books, pamphlets, magazines, and pictures touching the subject. Afterward I found myself looking over the contents of other shops about town, and stopping at the stands on the sidewalk, and buying any scrap of a kindred nature which I did not have. . . . The next time I visited the east, without taking any special trouble to seek them, I secured from the second-hand stores and bookstalls of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, whatever fell under my observation.¹

Obviously Mr. Bancroft was thoroughly inoculated with the book-collecting germ. Later he personally explored the book centers of Europe and also purchased liberally at auction sales, so that by 1869 the collection numbered about sixteen thousand books and pamphlets. His business having outgrown the Montgomery Street quarters, he erected a five-story building on the

¹ Bancroft, *Literary industries*, pp. 173-75.

south side of Market Street between Third and Fourth, housing his library on the fifth floor, where it remained until 1881, when he transferred it to a specially constructed fireproof building out on Valencia Street.

Bancroft was a shrewd, thrifty, enterprising, courageous business man. What he undertook he did thoroughly, and he usually accomplished whatever he set out to do. He had assembled the best collection extant of material on western American history and had expended thousands of dollars in the quest. As a business man it was natural that he should seek some return on his investment. He considered various projects to this end, one of them being a newspaper which should be different from anything then published on the coast and have an individuality all its own. This, however, was soon abandoned, and the project of an "encyclopaedia of knowledge relating wholly to the territory covered by the collection" was seriously considered. He spent days in May, 1871, discussing the subject with his librarian, Mr. Oak, and finally decided that he would superintend the undertaking. He arranged for a number of contributors, and a prospectus was printed and sent out with letters inviting co-operation.

At this time Bancroft's health was not good and business was depressed, and he states that "gradually I abandoned the idea of having anything to do with an encyclopaedia. . . . What was I to do? I did not know; but I would do something and that at once. . . . History writing I conceived to be among the highest of human occupations and this would be my choice were my ability equal to my ambition." There was gradually assuming shape in his mind the project of a vast undertaking, a history of all western America north of the isthmus of Darien, but with all his nerve and courage he was assailed by doubt and misgiving as to his own qualifications for such an enterprise. He writes:

My general plan was a series of works on the western half of North America. . . . The moment was so opportune. Time enough had elapsed for these

western shores to have a history, yet not enough since civilization lighted here, to lose any considerable portion of it. Then, strange as it may seem, from the depths of despair I would sometimes rise to the firm conviction that with my facilities and determined purpose I could not only do this work, but that I could save to these Pacific States more of their early incidents than had been preserved to other nations; that I could place on record annals exceptionally complete and truthful; that I could write a history which as a piece of thorough work, if unaccompanied by any other excellence, would be given a place among the histories of the world.²

Preliminary to his history proper, Bancroft and his assistants prepared five volumes devoted to the aborigines and entitled them the *Native races*. These were completed in October, 1875, when the energies of himself and his entire staff were concentrated on his "History of the Pacific States." However, the printing of the history was not begun for several years thereafter. On the removal of the library to Valencia Street in 1881, they had matter equivalent to fifteen volumes ready in manuscript. The printers were then started on *Central America*, Volume I, followed shortly by Volume I of the *History of Mexico*. "After that," Bancroft writes, "I gave the printers whatever part of the work appeared convenient, so that they frequently had several volumes in hand at one time."

With his long business experience Bancroft was under no illusions as to the difficulties in the way of effecting an adequate sale of such a monumental work. The complete work, as he early envisaged it, would run to thirty-nine volumes. He was told by those in a position to know that people would not subscribe for so large a work so far in advance of its completion. "Why not adopt the usual course, announce the first work of the series and take subscriptions therefor? This done, publish the second, and so on." It was finally decided to sell the work by subscription, taking orders only for complete sets. According to Bancroft, the reasons for adopting this policy were three:³

First, properly to place this work before men of discrimination and taste in such a way as to make them fully understand it, its inception and execution, the ground it covers with every how and why, required strong men of no common ability, and such men must receive adequate compensation for superior

² *Ibid.*, p. 278.

³ *Literary industries*, pp. 791-92.

intelligence and energy. To sell a section of the work would by no means pay them for their time and labor.

Secondly, when once the patron should understand the nature and scope of the work, how it was originated and how executed, as a rule, if he desired any of it, he would want it all. . . .

Thirdly, considering the outlay of time and money on each section, a subscription to only one volume, or one set of volumes, would in no way compensate or bring a fair return to the publisher.

So it was decided to take orders only for complete sets of the work, of which eventually thirty-nine volumes were published. One vital point, not mentioned in the foregoing, is that the ironclad subscription contracts did not state the *number* of volumes to be comprised in the complete set for which subscribers were committing themselves. According to tradition, this point was not stressed by Bancroft's agents. For example, to prospective patrons in California they would represent the work as a history of the state which probably would not exceed five or six volumes. As we shall soon see, this was the rock on which Bancroft and Stanford split.

From *Literary industries* we quote another interesting statement:

Another work of highest importance later forced itself upon me, and took its place among my labors as part of my history. This was the lives of those who had made the history, who had laid the foundations of empire on this coast upon which future generations were forever to build. Thus far a narrative of events had been given while those who had performed this marvelous work were left in the background. Every one felt that they deserved fuller treatment, and after much anxious consideration of the subject there was evolved in my mind a separate section of the history under title of *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth*.

That Bancroft originally intended to call this work the *Chronicles of the kings* is evidenced by his reference to that title in the footnote quoted at the beginning of this article. Furthermore, there are still extant copies of separates from the series so entitled. Two such items⁴ were recently listed in a catalogue of Californiana.

⁴ H. H. Bancroft, *History of the life of James G. Fair: a character study* (San Francisco, 1889). (*Chronicles of the kings*.)

Idem, *History of the life of Simeon Wenban: a character study* (San Francisco, 1889). (*Chronicles of the kings*.)

Having decided to publish this biographical section of his history, Bancroft seems to have proceeded with characteristic thoroughness to gather data for it. For the life of Leland Stanford he sent his stenographers to such men as William H. Mills and Henry Vrooman, who had been intimately associated with Stanford in railroad administration, and from them got long dictations giving their impressions and estimates of him as a man. Another dictation was obtained from Herbert C. Nash, Stanford's private secretary, and in later years librarian of Stanford University. The manuscript of the unpublished life mentioned at the beginning of this article as still being on file in the archives of the Bancroft library bears internal evidence that Bancroft's emissaries also interviewed both Mr. and Mrs. Stanford, for it contains information which could have come from no other source. Overlooking no vital source which might contribute material, this exhaustive study of Stanford's life was compiled and, as previously stated, apparently was set up in type.

The *Chronicles of the builders of the commonwealth* was published during the years 1891 and 1892 in seven volumes with the imprint of the History Company of San Francisco. No life of Stanford was included. The probable explanation is found in an incident related recently by Timothy Hopkins, who was treasurer of the Southern Pacific Company from 1883 to 1891. While in Stanford's office one day, a Bancroft representative was announced. Mr. Hopkins is not sure of the date, but it must have been shortly prior to April, 1890. Desiring a witness to the ultimatum he intended to pronounce, Stanford requested Hopkins to remain in the room, and, turning to Bancroft's agent, told him in substance: That he would accept no more volumes of the Bancroft works. That some years previous they had come to him to enlist his support of a projected history of California in five or six volumes. Being always ready to assist any enterprise that would redound to the credit of the state, and accepting their representations without question, he had

given his subscription to forty copies of the work. Instead of there being only five or six volumes, there were between thirty and forty, and he had a storeroom filled with them. The project had been misrepresented to him, and he had been imposed upon. He would accept no more volumes and would have nothing more to do with the undertaking.⁵ Stanford was slow to make decisions, but once his mind was made up, he was adamant.

The only one of the above mentioned manuscript dictations relative to Stanford bearing a date is that of Herbert Nash, which was taken September 14, 1889; hence relations with Bancroft were not terminated until some later date. Mr. Hopkins is positive that the interview with the Bancroft agent occurred prior to April, 1890; so it would seem that the rupture took place in the interval between those two dates. This circumstance is sufficient to account for the omission of Stanford from the *Chronicles of the builders*, but it does not explain the substitution of a specially prepared page in his personal copy of the *History of California*, Volume VI. A comparison of the two readings of this page may be made from the accompanying reproductions. The volume bears the imprint date of 1888. The inevitable conclusion seems to be that it was prepared for its possible influence upon Stanford, possibly to secure his adherence to Bancroft's new project—the biographical section of his history. In any event, it is cumulative evidence of Bancroft's thoroughness and resourcefulness.

Bancroft's changed opinion of Stanford following the episode related by Mr. Hopkins is made apparent by comparison of statements made before and after 1890, respectively. In his chapter on railroads, *History of California*, Volume VII, page 533, he states: "The later career of Mr. Stanford [since 1856] forms a part of the history of the state, and here it remains only to be said that in that state no man is more highly respect-

⁵ The *Chronicles of the builders* is a collection of what are colloquially termed "sucker" biographies. It is reasonable to assume that at this interview Stanford refused to be assessed for having a sketch of his life included therein.

ed, not only as a railroad artificer, but as a statesman, a citizen, and as a philanthropist." The affair must have rankled in Bancroft's mind with an intensity increasing with the lapse of time. Twenty-two years later, in 1912, in his *Retrospection* he writes: "Huntington commanded a respect which could not be accorded to Leland Stanford, a man of bodily presence made up pose and piety, with Asiatic eyes placed near together and which rolled heavenward in hypocritical ecstasy whenever he wished to be impressive—he was of the spiritualistic persuasion and now dwells among the stars. In default of an heir he gave his money to found a university which was to make high crime respectable." This picture is in striking contrast with the one painted in the unpublished life prepared under Bancroft's supervision, wherein Stanford is extolled for his many admirable characteristics, for his successful administration as war governor of California, and for his remarkable achievements as an up-builder of the state.

. . .

Mr. John Howell, of San Francisco, gives me the following notes of similar variations in Bancroft's works:

History of Central America. San Francisco, 1883. Vol. I.

See pages 1-7, 12, 24, 25, 28-32, 36, 46, 47, 52, and 54-71 in reference to the Roman Catholic church.

History of California. San Francisco, 1886. Vol. IV.

See pages 730 and 731 in reference to Dr. John Marsh.

History of California. San Francisco, 1888. Vol. VI.

See pages 10 and 11 in reference to Dr. John Marsh. Page 723, Leland Stanford.

History of Oregon. San Francisco, 1888. Vol. II.

See pages 96, 97, 144, 307, 337, 357, and 796 in reference to Judge O. C. Pratt.

California inter pocula. San Francisco, 1888.

See page 342 in reference to A. Haraszthy.

Popular tribunals. San Francisco, 1887. Vol. II.

See pages 292, 332, 334, 368, 388, 389, 417, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 425, 436, 438, 445, 454, 462, 463, 465, 466, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 483, 487, 491, 529, 563, 596, 637, also title to chapter xxiv, page 419, in reference to Judge David S. Terry.

See pages 284, 367, and 417 in reference to General William T. Sherman.

See pages 332 and 333 in reference to Chief Justice Hugh C. Murray.

See pages 333 and 334 in reference to Judge Alexander Wells.

See page 334 in reference to Judge Charles M. Creanor.

See pages 367 and 417 in reference to Governor John Neely Johnson.

See pages 368, 388, and 481 in reference to General Volney E. Howard.

See page 491 in reference to R. P. Ashe.

See page 529 in reference to the San Francisco *Bulletin*.

See page 529 in reference to the San Francisco *Herald*.

See pages 596 and 597 in reference to Judge Ogden Hoffman.

See pages 599 and 600 in reference to Judge M. Hall McAllister.

See pages 635 and 636 in reference to Rev. Dr. William A. Scott.

The copy of *Popular tribunals*, Volume II, in the Bancroft library has printed with pen and ink in large letters on the outside cover, "H. H. B. Private," and is furthermore mutilated by having pages 332 and 333, relating to Chief Justice Hugh C. Murray, torn out.

CHARLES GAYARRÉ

1805-95

By EDWARD LAROCQUE TINKER

THERE is a manuscript entry (in Spanish) in the ancient register of births and deaths of the old St. Louis Cathedral, which reads:

"On the 9th day of April, in this year 1805, I, Fr. Antonio de Sedella, a Capuchin, in charge of the parochial church of St. Louis in New Orleans, baptized and anointed with the holy oils a male child born on the 9th day of January of the present year (1805), the legitimate son of Don Carlos Gayarré, and of Doña Maria Ysabel Boré, natives of, but now residing near, this city; paternal grandparents, Don Juan Antonio Gayarré and Doña Carlota Constanza de Grand-Pré; maternal grandparents, Don Juan Esteban Boré and Doña Margarita Maria Destrehan. . . . I named him Carlos Esteban Arturo."

This "male child" was Charles Gayarré, the Louisiana historian, the only native American at his own baptism; all the others had been born under different flags. Père Antoine was a Spanish priest; and although the members of Gayarré's family first saw the light of day in Louisiana, it was when that colony had belonged either to France or to Spain.

His ancestors on both sides had played leading rôles in the colony's history. His great-grandfather, Don Esteban Gayarré, the younger son of a noble family of Navarre, had crossed the ocean in 1766, as *contador* for the ill-fated Ulloa, sent to New Orleans by the Spanish crown to take over Louisiana from the French. Juan Antonio, the son of Don Esteban, held the office of commissary of war in the colony, fought in the campaigns

against the English, under Bernardo de Galvez, served the Spanish crown in both Havana and Mexico, and became the father of Carlos, who in turn sired Charles Gayarré.

His mother, Doña Maria Ysabel, was the daughter of Jean Etienne de Boré, born in the Kaskaskias in 1740, then within the limits of Louisiana. Boré's life had been full of lusty adventure. When very young his parents took him to France, where, after being educated in a military school, he became a *mousquetaire du roi*, as the members of the household guard from the time of Louis XIV were called. Only a person of noble blood could belong to this pampered regiment, whose members had the unique privilege of riding in the king's own carriage, and whose captains equaled in rank lieutenant generals of the line.

In 1770 Boré married in Paris a daughter of Destrehan des Tours, who had been treasurer of Louisiana when it was under French rule. She was educated at St. Cyr, the celebrated school of Mme de Maintenon, attended only by princesses and young ladies of noble birth.

Two years later the young *mousquetaire* resigned from his regiment, to become a captain of cavalry and return to Louisiana. When he finally gave up army life, he bought a plantation near New Orleans, just below the present Audubon Park. Here he cultivated indigo, the most important crop in the colony, until some insect appeared which destroyed the plants in several successive years. This calamity made him try another crop—sugar cane.

In 1783 some Canary Islanders were sent by Spain to Louisiana as colonists. On the way over, their ship put in at Havana; and one or two, being simple farmers, got a few stalks of sugar cane and brought them to Louisiana. These people were put on land below New Orleans, and here they planted their cane. For awhile they grew it as a curiosity; but when a war sent the prices of taffia soaring, one of them, Solis, extracted the juice from his cane and turned it into rum, which he sold for 50-60

piastres fortes (dollars) a barrel. When the war ended, the price dropped, and it was no longer profitable to manufacture.

No one in Louisiana had been able to make molasses crystallize; so it was against the advice of his neighbors and the wishes of his family that Boré in 1794 bought from Solis and his partner Mendez enough sugar cane to make a large planting. Taking as a partner a certain Morin, who had had a long experience as a sugar refiner in Cuba or Santo Domingo, he proceeded to risk a large part of his fortune and that of his wife, in building and equipping a sugar house. His judgment was justified, for the next year, 1795, in the presence of a large group of neighbors and planters, the syrup was finally granulated into sugar for the first time in Louisiana. Boré not only made his own fortune but practically saved his state from bankruptcy as well. In 1802 he proved again that he was a most enlightened planter by replacing the cane cultivated in Louisiana up to this time, by cane from Tahiti, which, as it ripened in eight to ten months, did not have to survive the coldest part of the winter—an advantage the old cane did not possess, since it took eighteen, twenty-four, or sometimes thirty months to mature. This change was a great boon to the industry.

It was upon his grandfather Boré's plantation, where these interesting experiments took place, that Charles Gayarré was brought up as a boy; and the life there so impressed him that years afterward he was able to paint a delightful picture of it in *A Louisiana sugar plantation of the Old Régime*. He graphically described how his grandfather ran the plantation with military precision tempered by patriarchal justice. Each night pairs of slaves, armed with stout staves, were stationed as sentries at all points where depredations might be expected, and were relieved by others at midnight. In the early morning before going to work the big bell summoned all the negroes to kneel in prayer before the master's doorstep. This rite was always conducted by some member of the family, and Gayarré describes how embarrassed he was as a little boy when it became his turn.

He also told an amusing tale of "Big Congo," one of the field hands, who was sent by the *econome* with a message to the master. Congo returned and reported that he had found Monsieur Boré in the parlor, had delivered the message, that the old man had looked him straight in the eye but had answered nothing. The overseer became angry but Congo persisted in his story and added, "Master was in a gold window, and he looked at me good but wouldn't talk." Finally the negro persuaded the overseer to go with him, and in triumph pointed out in the drawing-room an oil portrait of Boré in a gilt frame, which had just been brought home and hung on the wall.

When he was six years old, Gayarré was sent to school on the adjoining Foucher plantation, under a master called Lefort, short, fat, and paunchy but a well-grounded scholar, who kept the strictest discipline by the unmerciful application of his pointer to his pupils' backs. Charles attended only a year, however, before he was sent as a boarder to the newly founded Collège d'Orléans on the corner of Hospital (in those days Bayou Road) and St. Claude streets, a site which was only slightly higher than the dismal swamps which then hemmed it in. Here he received a good classical education, taught by professors, who, for the most part, were refugees from the slave rebellion in Santo Domingo. Although they were quaint, strange characters, they must have been gentlemen of scholarly attainments and ripe culture if we are to believe the delightful description which Gayarré gives of them in *Fernando de Lemos*.

He was still at this college when on December 23, 1814, word came to General Jackson that the British had landed in Louisiana. Studies were abandoned amid great excitement, and parents came hurrying to remove their offspring to places of safety. Just as Gayarré and his cousin, Frederic Foucher, were beginning to believe they had been deserted, a messenger arrived from their aunt, Mme Porée, and brought them to her house on the corner of Dumaine and Royal. As they stood on her balcony, looking down at the excitement of the street below, the

two boys saw Major Plauché's battalion of militia—the flower of the *jeunesse dorée*—marching by to the Chalmette battlefield. Gayarré used to love to tell of it in later years:

“At seven o'clock the battle began, and the roar of the artillery, with the discharge of musketry, was almost as distinctly heard as if in our immediate neighborhood. There was not the slightest noise in the apparently dead city. It held its breath in awful suspense. There was not a human being to be seen moving in the streets. We, the two boys and the ladies of the household, petrified into absolute silence by the apprehension of the moment, stood on the balcony until half past nine, when the firing gradually ceased. But still we continued to remain on the spot; for what was to happen? Were our defenders retreating, pursued by the enemy? These were hours of anxiety never to be forgotten. About eleven o'clock the oppressive silence in the city was broken by the furiously rapid gallop of a horseman, shouting as loud as he could, ‘Victory! Victory!’ He turned from Chartres street into Dumaine, still shouting ‘Victory!’ The voice had become hoarse, and yet no human voice that I ever afterwards heard was fraught with more sweet music.”¹

The next day Gayarré returned to the Boré plantation, which was six miles above the city; and it was here, on the 8th of January, 1815, that he heard the firing of the final battle at Chalmette. Boré, too old to fight, was the only white man left on the place, and had ascended to the top of the portico. Some time before the battle ended, he calmly descended and announced to his apprehensive daughters, “Dismiss your fears; the Americans have won.”

“But father, how do you know?” inquired Gayarré's mother.

“You forget, my child,” replied Boré with a calm smile, “that I have some military experience. My practiced ear has not been deceived. The American guns have silenced the English guns. The enemy is defeated.”

¹ “A Louisiana sugar plantation of the Old Régime,” by Gayarré, *Harper's magazine*, March, 1887, p. 606.

In the days that followed the battle of New Orleans, General Jackson came often to the Boré plantation, and sometimes patted the young Gayarré on the head.

When Edward Livingston, the distinguished jurist, laid before the Louisiana legislature the Criminal Code he had prepared at the request of the state, Gayarré published in 1825 a pamphlet attacking some of his ideas, particularly his recommendation for the abolishment of capital punishment. This little monograph created quite a sensation and was, at least partially, instrumental in having the adoption of the code postponed indefinitely. The next year, when the young pamphleteer was only just twenty-one, he left New Orleans and went to Philadelphia to study law in the office of William Rawle, the leader of the bar of that city, and the author of an authoritative work on the Constitution. In two years he learned enough law to be admitted to the Pennsylvania bar (September, 1828), and very shortly afterward he returned to New Orleans, where, on January 12, 1829, he received his certificate permitting him to practice in the Louisiana courts. Notwithstanding this, the young man's primary interest was not in the law. The local success of his first pamphlet had inoculated him with the virus of a desire to write, and the field of history made the strongest appeal to his imagination. This was natural enough, as his family on both sides had held high positions in the French and Spanish colonial governments; so the colorful events of the history of his state were known to him as bits of intimate family tradition which he had heard recounted time and again by his parents or grandparents, who had been either actual participants or eye-witnesses.

Another happening had occurred to crystallize his taste for serious writing. He had a warm admiration for old Judge François Xavier Martin,² a Frenchman who had gone first to North Carolina, where he had become a printer and publisher, and

² Martin resided in Newbern, North Carolina, from about 1782 until about 1809, when he was appointed a judge of the supreme court of Mississippi. He remained there

had later moved to Louisiana and there had risen to the supreme court bench. In 1827 Martin published a history of Louisiana which, although unbelievably dry and stodgy, was still the best that had been written up to that time. Gayarré had seen the acclaim which this work brought the judge, and he was filled with emulation. Besides, he felt that he could take the dull skeleton of Martin's history and animate it with his intimate and detailed knowledge and make of his own work a vivid panorama of the growth and development of his state and the character and habits of her people. He began immediately after the appearance of Judge Martin's book, but it was not until 1830 that Gayarré was able to publish his first attempt at history—*Essai historique sur la Louisiane*, as he fittingly called it. He said in its Preface that he was able to consult but few source documents and that it was, for the most part, a translation of Judge Martin's work which he wished to make available for those of his fellow-Creoles who could not read English. It dealt with the period from Columbus to, and through, the battle of New Orleans in 1815. Although in later life Gayarré was not particularly proud of his *Essai historique*, it was so well thought of at the time that in 1831 the Louisiana legislature purchased six hundred copies to distribute among the schools of the state—an honor which Gayarré shared only with Bernard de Marigny.

It is unkind to insinuate that Gayarré's election to the legislature as a representative from New Orleans, in the same year, had anything to do with the purchase of his books by that body; nevertheless, political logrolling was not unknown even then. However that may be, he was so popular with his fellow-legislators that he was chosen to write the "address" sent to the French Chambers, complimenting them on the revolution of July, 1830. This unauthorized act was a rather brash usurpation of the rights of the federal government in matters of diplo-

only one year, when on March 21, 1810, he was appointed judge of the supreme court of the Territory of Orleans, and went to New Orleans where he resided for the remainder of his life.

macy, but it served to show the strong bonds of sympathy that still linked France and Louisiana. In this same session Gayarré successfully opposed the passage of a law expelling from Louisiana all free men of color.

In 1831 he was appointed assistant attorney-general to serve under George Eustis, and the following year Governor A. B. Roman made him attorney-general. Gayarré occupied this post only twelve months, when Governor Roman gave him the position of presiding judge of the city court of New Orleans.

In 1835 Judge Gayarré was elected to a six-year term in the United States Senate, even though he was a Democrat and the Whigs had a majority in the legislature—a victory that was a tribute to his popularity. Ill health (a case of chronic bronchial asthma) forced him to give up all hope of filling his office, and upon his doctor's advice he went abroad. In Paris he gradually recovered and began to lead a most interesting life. He attended literary salons and met everyone of note, from the Paris hangman, who was a bibliophile of distinction, to Louis Philippe himself, to whom he was presented at a ball at the Tuileries. That monarch was most gracious, and, after recalling the visit he had paid, during his exile in Louisiana, to Gayarré's grandfather Boré, made this rather astoundingly accurate prediction: "I do not wish to be a prophet of evil," he said, "but you, as a people, have conflicting interests and ambitions and unappeasable jealousies. You have the Puritans in the North and the Cavaliers in the South, Democracy with its leveling rod, and Aristocracy with slavery raising its haughty head in the other section and creating a social elegance, a superiority of breeding, and race, which must incite the intense hatred of your antagonists. Hence deadly conflicts, political convulsions and social transformations." His prediction came true with the outbreak of the Civil War.

History still fascinated Gayarré, and he spent much of his time delving in the archives of the Ministries of Marine and of the Colonies, in search of documents throwing light upon the

past of his state; and he made many important discoveries which he embodied in his later works. He remained abroad eight years and did not return home until 1843. He found his popularity had not been impaired by his absence, and a year later (1844) was elected to the state senate as representative from New Orleans. While there, he supported a resolution demanding that the members of Congress from Louisiana vote for the annexation of Texas.

Strangely enough, Gayarré's election to office generally synchronized with the appearance of a history. In 1830 he had gone to the state legislature and had published his *Essai historique*. In 1846 he was again elected, for the third time, to the state senate, and he brought out the first volume of his *Histoire de la Louisiane*, and followed it with the second volume in 1847. It was a much more ambitious work than the *Essai historique*, as he had the advantage of his researches in Paris, and had persuaded the legislature to buy from the French archives the copies of the documents concerning Louisiana, made by Magne of *l'Abeille*, as well as those made by Margry. Both volumes were printed in New Orleans by the publishers of *l'Abeille*, Magne and Weisse. They covered the period from the voyage of Ponce de Leon, down through the stirring events of the revolution against Spanish rule of 1768-69.

Gayarré explained that he wrote this history in French because he felt he was painting a family portrait, and that to use a foreign language in doing it, would be to rob the picture of its naturalness of color. He wished, above everything else, to make its actors in the great colonial drama of Louisiana tell their story in their own words, and for this reason he chose to write it in their native tongue. Pursuing this plan, he quoted more than generously from the records left by the early explorers and from the memoirs of the colonial governors. This gave the work a peculiarly disjointed style, notwithstanding Gayarré's cleverness in stringing his gleanings on a slender thread of his own prose. It would not be unfair to say that what he accomplished was a

clever and well-done piece of editorial work rather than a history in its true sense. His intention was to extend this work to include his own day and then to write an English version of it; but he became so immersed in politics that for some years he had little time for serious research.

Although, as we know, he had been elected to the state legislature in 1846, he never occupied this seat; for Governor Isaac Johnson offered, and he accepted, the post of secretary of state. This was a position that entailed a vast amount of drudgery, for, in addition to his regular duties, he had to act as superintendent of public education, serve together with the state treasurer on the board of currency which had complete supervision of all the state banks, and even assist, *ex officio*, as a director of the Mechanics' and Traders' Bank, in which the state was a large stockholder.

Notwithstanding these multifarious duties, when the managers of the People's Lyceum invited him to deliver a lecture, he found time to do so. It was later published in De Bow's *Commercial review* of June and July, 1847, under the title of "Romance of the history of Louisiana." Gayarré explained that soon afterward a terrible epidemic of yellow fever descended upon New Orleans; that the heat became frightful; and that, when he went on the streets, he saw only dogs, doctors, and hearses. When he stayed at home he was depressed by visitors who could talk of nothing but the dying and the dead. Calling in George, his slave, he ordered him not to admit anyone to the house for one week, upon pain of being "kicked out to the abolitionists" should he fail in his duty. During the peaceful period which ensued, Gayarré happened onto the numbers of De Bow's which contained his lecture, and, reading it, became so interested he wrote three more lectures, wishing, as he explained, to do for Louisiana in a modest way what Walter Scott had done for Scotland. These four lectures he published in book form in 1848 under the title of *The romance of the history of Louisiana*. They cover the period from De Soto's expedition in 1539 to

Crozat's death in 1738. Gayarré took so many liberties with his facts that the book belongs in a category somewhere between historical fiction and pure history. Even the author himself makes this evident in a note at its end, in which he says:

"I hope I shall be forgiven for having slightly deviated from historical truth in the preceding pages, with regard to particulars which I deemed of no importance. For instance, I changed the name of Crozat's daughter. Why? Perhaps it is owing to some capricious whim—perhaps there is to me some spell in the name of Andrea."

They were written in English because Gayarré discovered that the march of American influence had come so swiftly since his *Essai historique* that his audience would be far greater if he used that language.

In 1847 Gayarré had persuaded the legislature to vote \$2,000 to be used in acquiring from the Spanish archives copies of documents relating to Louisiana; and he had enlisted the help of Romulus M. Saunders, American minister at Madrid, who had employed a certain Pascual de Gayangos to do the searching. At the end of his first term as secretary of state, in 1850, Gayarré published a report of his activities in which he gave, not only a list of all the books he had bought for the state library, but also the transcript of his correspondence concerning the Spanish documents. The letters from Gayangos gave a strange account of some of the difficulties thrown in his way. He said the papers were tied together in bundles with no notations on the outside, and were strewn around pell-mell on the floors of the archive rooms or heaped up on deal tables. The archivists had no knowledge of the papers in their custody, and no index had ever been made. Of the hundred obstacles which had to be overcome by Gayangos, the most remarkable was the refusal of the Duke of Sotomayor, then Minister of State, to permit him to examine any of the papers in the archives of the Foreign Office, on the ground that they might in some way implicate his father, who had been minister to the United States at the time

of the Wilkinson conspiracy. Under such circumstances it was only to be expected that the copies of documents ultimately sent to Louisiana were very incomplete. Nevertheless, Gayangos made an interesting discovery, and in one letter said he "was agreeably surprised to find part of the secret correspondence of General Wilkinson, Dr. White, Col. Dunn, and other parties who offered to annex Kentucky, Ohio and other states, and were undoubtedly in the pay of the Spanish government, as may be fully proved by their own correspondence."

The government of Spain was essentially aristocratic and so looked very dubiously upon the democratic experiment being tried in America, and must have felt it to be as dangerous and subversive as we today regard the Bolshevik plan. Most of the difficulties encountered by Gayangos were probably the result of this attitude of mind. Indeed, this was proved to be so when, on one of his visits to Spain, Gayarré himself called on the Minister of Foreign Affairs, a duke of ancient lineage. This official, who knew that the American was related to some of the first-families of Spain, immediately agreed to give him every aid in his researches and made evident the reason for this complaisance when he said to Gayarré in Spanish, "Señor Don Carlos, you and I will, if you please, deal with this matter personally; we will not, if you please, deal with it through your minister, who, if I may say so, is not one of us."

Gayarré fulfilled the multifarious duties of his office with such diligence and ability that when, in 1850, Joseph Walker succeeded Isaac Johnson as governor, the former reappointed Gayarré secretary of state for a second term. During his incumbency he was not so busy but that he could devote some of his time to fostering the arts. The legislature authorized him to have a statue of George Washington made by Hiram Powers, who was then living in Italy. It cost \$10,000 and, when it was completed, was placed in the rotunda of the capitol at Baton Rouge. During the Civil War it was removed by northern troops, but, after the conclusion of hostilities, was restored upon the application

of Governor Warmoth, only to be destroyed in a conflagration in New Orleans.

Gayarré was also a member of the committee which erected the statue of General Jackson now standing before the St. Louis Cathedral. It was done by Mills and cost \$30,000. It created a great deal of interest, as it was the first equestrian statue ever made in this country in which the whole weight of the rearing horse was borne on its hind legs without other support.

The year 1851 witnessed a new contribution from Gayarré's pen: *Louisiana: its colonial history & romance*, which republished the first four lectures that had already appeared, and added a second series bringing Louisiana's history down to 1743. The third series of lectures followed the next year. As its title was *Louisiana: its history as a French colony*, it quite naturally ended with the final transfer of that colony to Spain in 1769. All three books containing his so-called "Lectures" are on about the same plane of accuracy and must not be accepted with closed eyes, even though Gayarré said in his Preface to the second series "that the substance of this work . . . rests on such evidence as would be received in a court of justice, and that what I have borrowed from the *poet* for the benefit of the *historian*, is hardly equivalent to the delicately wrought drapery which even the sculptor would deem necessary, as a graceful appendage to the nakedness of the statue of truth."

In 1853 Gayarré ran for Congress but was badly defeated. He attributed this to the dishonesty of certain politicians, and in a pamphlet made charges, which were never denied, that the ballot boxes had been stuffed with fraudulent votes. This attack made so many enemies for him among the influential politicians that he fell, as he expressed it, "under the upas shadow of a complete political ostracism"; and his last chance of political preferment disappeared when in 1854 he published a very sardonic and biting little "dramatic novel" in dialogue, called *The school for politics*. It was a hit at contemporary political demoralization; and, although Gayarré denied that the characters

were drawn from life, it was perfectly easy to recognize the lineaments of at least two persons well known in New Orleans political circles. "Randolph" was really Dunbar, the candidate who had defeated Gayarré; and "Dunder Blunder Beckendorf" was Pierre Soulé, against whom Gayarré held a deep grudge.

It seems that after his defeat at the polls Gayarré decided that it would restore his prestige to be minister to Spain, and discussed his ambition with Soulé, then a United States Senator, who promised to arrange the matter with the president. Gayarré's appointment had been even announced in some of the newspapers, when a statement was issued by the Cabinet that Soulé himself had been made minister to Spain. Naturally Gayarré never forgave him for his duplicity, and very obviously enjoyed the rather heavy-footed fun he made of him in *The school for politics*. Stodgy and labored though the book was, it was translated and published in Paris by Count de Sartiges, ex-ambassador from France to the United States and received a good deal of attention in Europe, just as does any picture of the unflattering side of American life.

The *Louisiana Courier* attacked Gayarré bitterly for publishing the book and accused him of being "untrue to his party," a "haughty aristocrat," a "despiser of the democracy," and "one who had abandoned and ridiculed his people." Gayarré, who was in New York at the time, was very much incensed and immediately wrote a letter, published in the *Washington Union* of October 23, 1854, refuting these charges.

Notwithstanding all the political strife in the midst of which he had been living, Gayarré managed to issue a reprint of his three series of lectures in 1854, under the title of *History of Louisiana, the French domination*, and a companion volume, *History of Louisiana, the Spanish régime*, which was made up of entirely new material and based upon the copies of the Spanish documents which Gayangos had sent over. In this book, for the first time, Gayarré gave up his early practice of embellishing history with the fruits of his imagination, and strove for strict

scientific accuracy. He followed this same procedure with the next, *The American domination*, which was his last formal history and, although written just before the Civil War, was only published in 1866. All the various editions which came later were reprints from the plates of his books on the three dominations—French, Spanish, and American. He received high praise for his work from the historian, George Bancroft, who wrote him: "You give at once to your state an authentic history such as scarce any other in the Union possesses. I have for years been making manuscript and other collections, and the best that I have found appears in your volumes."

Notwithstanding this encomium, many Creoles have accused Gayarré of bias. They say that, swayed by the Spanish blood of his father rather than by the French of his mother, he glossed over the conduct of "bloody" O'Reilly in executing Lafrénière and his fellow-conspirators against Spanish rule. There is possibly a modicum of truth in this accusation, for Gayarré had certain blind spots in his intellectual processes. A typical instance of one of these was his attitude toward his brother, Ferdinand Gayarré, a tall, handsome young man with the black hair and eyes of a Spaniard. He married a Miss Flood, with whom he seemed to be quite happy until one day, after a quarrel, she returned to live at her parents' house. On several occasions Ferdinand attempted to visit his wife but was foiled by her mother. Finally, blind with rage, he burst into her parents' house, and finding his mother-in-law at dinner, snatched the carving knife off the table and slit her throat. At his trial he escaped the gallows for want of proof of premeditation, but was condemned to a long imprisonment and set to working on the streets with the chain gang. Even the red convict shirt with its staring black numerals, and the ball and chain on his ankle, could not entirely obscure the elegance of his figure nor break his proud and haughty manner; and some strange survival of vanity made him always wear white gloves. Whenever the gang was working in front of the house of any lady he had known, she always sent

a servant out with a glass of lemonade on a silver tray. Drinking it, he would bow gallantly toward the window behind which he suspected she was hiding, and then pick up his shovel and go back to work. Tuberculosis soon carried him off.

Ever afterward Charles Gayarré denied he had ever had a brother, and soon came to believe it himself. In some instances, at least, he wrote history in much the same spirit; and when any incident impugned his Spanish pride of race or ran counter to his immutable prejudices, he either denied it *in toto* or omitted it from his books. But then it must be remembered that the writing of history in Louisiana in those days was a very personal matter. Descendants of many of the important figures in her history still lived in New Orleans, ready to resent, with all the touchiness of Franco-Spanish pride, any mention of their ancestors which they might consider derogatory. Gayarré, who had disagreed with the De Livaudais family over the division of some property, evened his score by referring in his history to their colonial progenitors as "pirates," whereas the family always used the slightly more euphemistic term of "corsaires." The De Livaudais were intensely incensed and called a family conclave, attended by even the most remote cousins, to consider what action should be taken. After much discussion it was finally decided that it would be undignified to pay any attention to the slur, but for a long time none of them would speak to him.

Nevertheless, Gayarré's contributions must not be underestimated, for he preserved and made available much French and Spanish archival material which, but for his efforts, might have lain undiscovered; and he left a vivid picture of the life of the various colonial periods of his state, with all its tradition and local color that could never have been painted by anyone whose ancestors had not played so prominent a part in its history.

When the Know Nothing party, or American party, as it was sometimes called, suddenly sprang into prominence, Gayarré, still smarting from his political defeat, joined it. Its avowed aims of reforming politics and disfranchising citizens of foreign

birth made a strong appeal to him. For some years past, great numbers of the lowest class of Irishmen had come to Louisiana and, once naturalized, formed a large and ignorant body of voters that were absolutely amenable to the orders of the most debauched political leaders. Gayarré saw the danger of this condition, and his affection for the new party was in no way dampened by the thought that the success of its policies would result in disfranchising his old enemy, Pierre Soulé, who had been borne in France.

Filled with enthusiasm, Gayarré, together with five other delegates from New Orleans, went to Philadelphia in June, 1855, to attend the general convention of the party. No effort was made to bar his associates, four of whom were Protestants and one a Jew; but he was not permitted to enter the convention hall, on the ground that he was a Catholic. The delegation from Louisiana stood as a unit and refused to take their seats unless all were allowed in. Gayarré then demanded to be heard upon the question of his exclusion, but this too was refused; so he submitted a pamphlet to the convention, urging them to renounce religious intolerance as a party principle, and returned to New Orleans. Here he presided over a big meeting in the ballroom of the old Orleans Theatre. He gave a report of what had taken place in Philadelphia and recommended the prompt dissolution of a party "on whose banners was emblazoned in fiery letters as terrible an inscription as that written upon the palace of a Babylonian king—'No liberty of conscience, political disabilities, a religious test, no equality of rights among native-born Americans.'"

This statement he made in June. Nevertheless, in September he issued an *Address to the people of Louisiana on the state of the parties*, in pamphlet form, in which he made it clear that the corruption of the Whigs and Democrats was responsible for the new American party, and vehemently defended all its policies save one. This, of course, was the ostracizing of Catholics; and on this point he wrote that he hoped "the American party

should be soon cleansed of the only stain which disgraces its purity; if not, I pledge myself to war against it with all the energies which God has given me."

Notwithstanding this, he wrote that he would support the party as long as it pursued its professed aims of securing honesty in politics, and even went so far as to state: "You are bound to choose between the vigorous vitality of the young eagle and the rotten decrepitude of the Democratic party."

It is difficult to understand why in September he should be so enthusiastic, in the main, about a party whose immediate dissolution he had been urging in the previous June. The most probable solution is that he wrote this address to deliver before the convention in Philadelphia. It reads that way. When he was not permitted to do so, he still felt that it was so excellent a piece of literature that he could not bear to let it remain unknown; so he added the paragraph about religious intolerance (a fact of which he had been in ignorance before he went to Philadelphia) and published the pamphlet anyhow. In the anonymous biographical sketch which he wrote himself, he referred to this address as a *masterpiece* "considered by competent judges to be the equal in brilliancy of style and depth of thought of any political composition of the English language." This was no faint self-praise and gives credence to the theory of how the address came to be published.

Gayarré had inherited a good deal of money, and it was estimated that just previous to the Civil War he possessed a fortune of \$400,000—a large one for those days; and his wife, a lady from Georgia, had another \$100,000. This enabled him to live in comfort anywhere he wished; so, his intense Spanish pride still smarting on account of his political fiasco, he decided to leave Louisiana and go to live in Spain, where he could work in the archives. His arrangements were all made, even to the turning of the bulk of his estate into cash, and he was on the point of sailing, when black premonitions of war began to darken the horizon. As a historian he recognized its inevitability and sud-

denly realized that if he left at that time it would seem that he was deserting his relatives, his friends, and his country in their time of need. This was an impossible action to a man of his character; so, changing all his plans, he stayed on in Louisiana.

When in 1861 the question arose as to whether Louisiana could lawfully secede, as she had not voted to come into the Union but was a territory bought and paid for, Gayarré's opinion was sought; and he held that Louisiana had just as much legal right to secede as any other state. He addressed a large meeting at Odd Fellows Hall in New Orleans to this effect, and then published a letter on the question, copies of which were laid before the convention summoned to decide what Louisiana's action should be. After this, Gayarré retired to his plantation at Roncal in the Parish of Tangipahoa, to remain there until the close of the war.

When in 1863 the Confederacy seemed to be losing, Gayarré drew up an address to the Confederate Congress, urging them to arm the slaves as a war measure and to enter into a treaty with England and France to recognize the independence of the Southern Confederacy, in consideration of the gradual emancipation of the negro slaves. He read this paper before a meeting of farmers at Osyka, Mississippi, and requested their signatures. Although they were in sympathy with his ideas, they thought it would be impossible to run their plantations without slave labor and felt it might be a premature sacrifice to promise to give them up. A year later, when the fortunes of war looked even blacker, they went to Gayarré and offered to sign; but he informed them that it was too late. The address was finally published in some Mobile paper.

The war almost ruined Gayarré. Patriotically he had invested most of his fortune in Confederate bonds and "shin plasters," as the Confederate currency was called; and both were valueless at the close of the struggle. What little he had left he soon lost in a bank failure. Everything went except his pride. From that time on, his life became one long losing battle to keep the wolf

from the door with his pen. With admirable courage he published, immediately upon the close of hostilities in 1865, *Dr. Bluff in Russia or the Emperor Nicholas and the American doctor*, a two-act comedy which poked fun at the indirection and duplicity of European diplomacy. The following year saw the publication of his *American domination* already mentioned, and also of a biography, *Philip II of Spain*, which contained a laudatory introductory letter from George Bancroft. The author must have thought quite well of this book, because twenty-five years after it was published he wrote Colonel James E. Saunders that "the London Saturday Review said of it that it was one of the most remarkable books published in the United States since the beginning of this century. The originality of beginning a man's life with his death instead of his birth has been declared to be very striking and unique. Distinguished scholars of several nationalities, including our own, have complemented me with profuse and unexpected praise. Had I been as greedy of laudation as a cormorant is of fish, yet I could not but have confessed myself as completely gorged, and have cried enough for I was ranked in the opinion of those scholars, as being superior in many of my pages to Prescott and Bancroft in force of thought and brilliancy of style, and fully equal to Mr. Macaulay in that respect. And yet this work so much admired never put a cent in my pocket, but depleted it considerably."

During the terrible period of Reconstruction Gayarré did his utmost to alleviate the condition of his fellow-Louisianians and lead them out of their difficulties. A law was passed by Congress exacting that every southerner who had borne arms against the Union or held office in the Confederacy should take an oath of allegiance or be registered as an enemy and his property be subject to confiscation. It was made impossible, for those who refused, to earn a living; and yet many southerners felt it against their conscience to take the oath. In an effort to arrive at some solution of the problem, Gayarré in 1866 delivered an address before a large audience, on "Oaths, rebellion, and amnesties."

It was afterward published as a pamphlet, and was a moving plea to the federal government to mitigate the severity of their stand.

Gayarré even went on to Washington to try to persuade Mr. Seward, then Secretary of State, to relax the rigors of the administration's Reconstruction policy. All the Secretary would say was, "My advice is, submit to anything; hasten to return on any condition to that building" [he pointed in the direction of the Capitol]; "bend your stiff necks, eat dirt, creep on your belly to your seats, if necessary, rather than not take them."

Thoroughly incensed, Gayarré answered with dignity, "Mr. Seward, it is thus we are told that the fallen angels, shortening their size, changing their shape, and dwindling into reptiles, crawled into the pandemonium hall of their deliberations. It would seem to me that this is no example to offer to men, bad as they may be thought to be, and you may rest assured that it will not be followed by us. If you should ever see men, calling themselves representatives of Louisiana, eat dirt and creep on their bellies into the Capitol, you may be convinced at once that they are assuming a false name, that they are vagrant imposters, and not her true sons by birth or adoption."

To round off his services for the year 1866, Gayarré journeyed to Philadelphia as a delegate to the national convention of the Union Democratic party. Here an honest attempt was made to harmonize the conflicting factions of the party, in order to present a unified front to the growing inroads of the Republican organization which had fallen into the hands of carpetbaggers and negroes. Unfortunately the effort proved unsuccessful. The following year Gayarré tried politics once more and came within a very few votes of being elected to the Senate of the United States.

In 1872 he published his first novel, *Fernando de Lemos*, which he labeled "truth and fiction." It is, for the most part, autobiographical, gives a most interesting description of his early school life at the Collège d'Orléans, relates his own experiences

in Europe, and contains unforgettable pictures of old Chief Justice François Xavier Martin, the historian, and of Dominique You, the pirate.

Gayarré was indefatigable as a politician. In 1873 he ran once more for Congress, publishing an *Address to the voters of the First Congressional District*, as a campaign document. It was a spirited attack on carpetbagger rule, in which he compared the old method of the job seeking the man with the then habit of the politicians who "not only seek office, but run a steeple chase after it, leaving on every bush, as they speed onward, a torn fragment of their dignity and self-esteem; casting missiles of defamation against those who threaten to shoot ahead, or slyly trying to hamstringing them with the poisoned blade of calumny; now plunging through the bogs of corruption; now overleaping the hedges of decency and the barriers of virtue, until their honor breaks its neck and remains a hideous corpse on the by-road."

Gayarré lost again, but the judges of the supreme court of the state assuaged the disappointment of their distinguished fellow-citizen by appointing him in 1873 a reporter of their decisions, a post which carried a small salary. He published four volumes of decisions, and then a new administration came into power in 1876 and he lost the position. Then began the flood of articles in magazines and newspapers, by which Judge Gayarré sought to keep his financial head above water. He was so poor that he did not even refuse to put his pen at the service of the Louisiana lottery, and was the author, I believe, of a quaint little pamphlet, *The cornucopia of old, the lottery wheel of the new*, which in a very scholarly way defended the lottery by showing that, in the early history of Louisiana, lotteries had been used to raise money for the most praiseworthy of objects, such as building churches, hospitals and schools, improving roads, and even, in 1828, for paying for the experiments of an inventor in constructing a steam engine which would be applicable to machinery. Miss Grace King, who was the intimate friend and legatee of Gayarré, also believes that this pamphlet was written by him.

Judge Gayarré was seventy-seven years old when, in 1882, he published *Aubert Dubayet or the two sister republics*. It was a sequel to *Fernando de Lemos*, and was "in substance history" though in "form romance." As the author himself said: "It is history, but with its nudities embellished under the glittering gossamer veil of fiction"—to be more concise, history with a fig leaf of romance. It relates the adventures of a young Louisianian who took part in both the French and American revolutions, and knew the historic figures of them both. Gayarré made next to nothing from either this book or his histories. Indeed, he felt the latter had, on the contrary, cost him money, because in 1890 he wrote to his old friend, Colonel Saunders:

"My History of Louisiana in four volumes octavo, with maps in each one, dating from the earliest settlements and ending with the ordinance of Secession in 1861, is the work of a life time and has cost me \$30,000 at the lowest calculation. Bancroft wrote me that I was his guide. I kept the letter of course. He said in a marginal note in one of the editions of his History of the United States, that my History of Louisiana surpassed that of all the other states, that there was no looking beyond me, and that Louisiana could boast of the best History he had ever known. This was very fine, to be sure, but my pecuniary loss in erecting this monument has, nevertheless, been very large, and the monument itself has never afforded me any revenue. For instance, the four volumes are selling now for \$9, which are divided as follows: commission granted to anyone selling a copy, \$3, my royalty, 90 cents, retained by the bookseller who stipulated for the free use of my plates, \$5.10, total \$9.

"You see that it does not pay for the wear and tear of the plates and much less for the interest running on the four thousand dollars invested in them."

During the early eighties, George W. Cable published his stories of Creole life. *Old Creole days* and *The Grandissimes* met with great success in the North and abroad, but only served thoroughly to incense the Creoles of Louisiana, because he wrote

a good many stories with quadroon women for heroines, and they felt that he spread abroad the erroneous impression that they had a taint of negro blood; and they resented, as well, his making Creoles speak broken English. The humiliations of negro rule were still fresh in everybody's mind; so, when Cable published his book in defense of negro rights, called *The freed-man's case in equity*, the Creole' rage knew no bounds. Gayarré, who was always ready to take up the cudgels for his people, made an address before a packed audience, on "The Creoles of history and the Creoles of romance," in which he excoriated Cable and said that the universal panacea which Cable was attempting to force down everyone's throat was labeled on the bottle, "Social and conjugal fusion of the blacks and whites."

As a result of all this excitement a Creole Association was formed the next year. Gayarré was invited to join, but refused. "I regret to say," he wrote, "that being uncertain of my daily bread, I cannot join any association that would entail any expense to me, and without being in that respect on a footing of equality with all its members."

He even resigned from the presidency of the Louisiana Historical Society, for which he had labored so long and so well; and in 1888 wrote to W. W. Howe, its vice-president, his reasons for so doing.

"I have jealously, but in vain, for twenty-eight years, labored to impart vitality and usefulness to the 'Louisiana Historical Society.' But my persistent efforts have failed from the want of any pecuniary assistance whatever, even in the slightest degree, either from the State or from private sources; and that important 'Society' may be said, today, to continue its existence only on the Statute Book. After so many years of fruitless exertions, I have determined that it becomes my duty to relinquish a position in which I have never been able to obtain any satisfactory results, and have only felt the humiliation of failure, particularly when comparing it with the proud

success secured by such Institutions in most of our sister States.”³

Shortly after his resignation, a small pamphlet appeared in New Orleans, labeled *Biographical sketch of Hon. Charles Gayarré, by a Louisianian*. It was an amplification of an article on Gayarré which had appeared in *Louisiana biographies* in 1882, and was attributed by some to the pen of E. C. Wharton. The majority of the authorities, however, believe that, instead of being a biography, it was in reality an autobiography, and that Gayarré wrote it himself. If this is so, he told the truth as he saw it, without the slightest false modesty, and wrote that “it is a matter of public notoriety that Charles Gayarré, although an octogenarian, has, to all appearances, retained the physical and intellectual vigor which characterized him forty years ago . . . his face is expressive, his voice full and sympathetic, his utterance distinct, his delivery animated and his countenance dignified . . . gifted with great oratorical powers . . . his reputation . . . will go on increasing in proportion to the lapse of the years.”

After all that, it is no wonder that in the last paragraph he confesses that he is a “warm personal friend of Charles Gayarré.” But no one could begrudge the old gentleman his little display of personal vanity, for he was so pitifully poor, so racked by illness and failing sight, and withal so valiant in his struggle to earn a living.

“I shall be absorbed for three months to come,” he wrote a friend in 1890, when he was eighty-five years old, “in a very tedious and dry sort of occupation—that of making for the northern press a neat copy of a corpulent historical novel which I have ventured upon. It is very hard and slow work for me, considering my general health and in particular the condition of my eyes, the stiffness of my fingers, and the pain which has domiciliated itself in my wrist and which sometimes takes a pleasure excursion train up to my shoulder. I cannot even af-

³ *Louisiana historical quarterly*, XII, No. 1 (January, 1929), 30.

ford time to glance at a newspaper for the present. I do nothing but copy! copy! copy! It puts me in mind of the story of the shirt. Stitch! Stitch! Stitch! Hence if I do not soon die from hebetation I will in due time let you know when I have done with my monotonous and weary mule treading in a mill."

All summer and fall he must have plodded on with his task in the terrific heat, for on December 4 of that year, he wrote again to the same friend:

"I have at last finished copying, and my novel entitled, '*Quevedo*' is ready for the press. This job being off my hands, I intend to rest and be, until after the holidays, as lazy as the blackest of the pests of Uncle Sam. The difficulty now is to find a suitable publisher and to secure a miserable stipend for my hard labor. The work is an historical novel (the only literary production which pays a living when it pays). The action is under Philip III, its duration six days and the locality Madrid. It is as long as the Heart of Midlothian or Quentin Durward. Photographing the usages, manners and morality of the epoch among all the social classes from the highest down to the lowest, I am compelled to be realistic in some scenes in order to be truthful, although I take care to keep far from approaching the descriptive style of the most successful and popular of our modern writers. Still I am a little alarmed, considering the exaggerated prudery prevailing in some quarters, and it is not without cause that I am nervous. Witness the following letter from Belford about a *Historical* essay of mine on the quadroons, who are favorite subjects for dramas and novels:

Mr. Redpath has forwarded to me your essay on the Quadroon. I find it very interesting and know it to be distinguished by that same accuracy of statement and charm of style that characterizes every thing you write, nor do I see in it anything that should offend the most fastidious. Nevertheless, I shall be obliged to return it, because an editor must consult not his own taste only or chiefly, nor even the common taste of the average readers only, but the unreasoning and unreasonable prejudices of the thousands who mistake the caprices of prudery for the love of virtue, and who insist that evils that defy their remedies shall be ignored. Notwithstanding the skill and delicacy with which you treat your topic I cannot venture to defy the sentiment,

very common among family magazine readers, which insists that such subjects shall not be treated nor even hinted at in publications designed for family reading.

"Notwithstanding this curious epistle, the writer permitted a story based on the misfortunes of a frail woman and her bastards, to be inserted in the next number of his Magazine. Is it not supremely funny?"

Pathetically enough, all the old man's pain and effort went for nothing; neither *Quevedo* nor the article on the quadroons were ever published.

As his penury became more and more abject, his pride and his fortitude increased; and his manners were so courtly and distinguished—even on an empty stomach—that no one could have guessed he had not dined like a Lucullus. Edward C. Wharton used to bring a couple of loaves of bread every time he came to talk with him. Always the Judge drew himself up with true Spanish pride and would say, "I thank you, sir, but I can never eat charity bread"; and Wharton invariably answered, "Well, you may be a very great writer, but as a man you're a very great fool; and even if you want to starve yourself, you've got no right to refuse to let your wife eat."

The poor old gentleman always capitulated and took the bread to his wife. Then he would return to discuss politics and literature for hours, hungry though he was.

Conditions grew even worse; he complained of the "imperfect light issuing from my incessantly aching eyes and my many other infirmities growing in strength and variety"; but nothing could make him afraid of death or even shake his quizzically courageous philosophy of life.

"What is, has its *raison d'être*," he wrote to a friend in October, 1891. "I am willing, at least, to suppose it to be so, and that all will be for the best in the end at some period unknown to us during eternity. Such being the case, and there being no peace intended for us in this miserable world, let us continue and struggle to fight to the last. Hence I do not give up the

ship, but I cannot but see that the nasty cowardly ship is going soon to give me up—the blasted antiquated hulk that it is! . . .

“As to myself, a long experience has demonstrated to me that human life would not be worth a pound of dirty cotton picked by a dirty nigger, were it not for all its illusions, Hence if the theory of death must be looked upon as a door open mercifully to us for escaping from the penitentiary where the good are so strangely kept at harder labor than the wicked, is nothing but the last illusion by which we are to be deceived, yet I choose to believe in the *aperture* through the dark and mysterious wall, not because it is impossible, or absurd, but because it is exceedingly pleasant, and raises me in my estimation above the strong minded thinkers and modern philosophers of the pigsty. Absolute scepticism or even hesitating agnosticism is but a buzzard that would make of mankind a carcass to feed upon, whilst any creed or faith whatever that speaks to the soul, is the eagle towering up to the sun and bathing its wings in the splendors of God.”

For the last few years of his life Judge Gayarré was supported by a monthly purse made up by charitable ladies headed by Miss Grace King's mother; and I am glad that, since it had to be, it was in New Orleans that this gentleman of the old school was finally forced to eat the bread of charity, for there it is given so simply, so graciously, and with such evident pleasure on the part of the giver as to rob it of most of its bitterness.

Charles Gayarré died in New Orleans on the 11th day of February, 1895, at the ripe age of ninety, and was buried in the St. Louis Cemetery No. 1.

Biographical References

ALDRICH, CHARLES (Webster City, Iowa). “Louisiana's Veteran Author, Charles Gayarré,” January 14, 1890. This was an article torn from a magazine, name unknown, in the possession of Grace King.

BROWN, EVERETT S. “Charles Étienne Gayarré.” (In Dictionary of American Biography, New York, VII [1931], 196-97.)

“Charles Gayarré,” *Country visitors magazine* (New Orleans), May, 1881, pp. 20-22.

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"Defection de M. Gayarré," *Le Meschacébé*, Octobre 7, 1855.

DEMENIL, ALEXANDER NICOLAS. *Literature of the Louisiana Territory*, St. Louis, 1904, pp. 101-4.

DUYCKINCK, E. A. and G. L. *Cyclopaedia of American literature*, II, 226-31.

FORTIER, ALCÉE. "Charles Gayarré," *CRAL*, Mars 1895, p. 227.

FORTIER, ALCÉE. An article in *Library of southern literature*, Vol. IV (1773).

GAYARRÉ, CHARLES. *Biographical sketch of the Hon. Charles Gayarré*, by a Louisianian, 1889. Reprinted in *Louisiana historical quarterly*, XII, No. 1 (January, 1929), 5. (See note on this item in bibliography.)

GAYARRÉ, CHARLES. *Fernando de Lemos*. Gives an account of his early education and his adventures in Paris.

GAYARRÉ, CHARLES. "A Louisiana sugar plantation of the Old Régime," *Harper's magazine*, March, 1887. Gives an excellent description of his grandfather's plantation upon which he spent his childhood.

HAYNE, PAUL HAMILTON. "Charles Gayarré," *Southern bivouac*, June and July, 1886. Hayne carried on a long correspondence over a period of some years with Gayarré. This is now in the library of Duke University of North Carolina.

"History of the Louisiana Historical Society," *Publications of the Louisiana Historical Society*, III, Part II (1904), 19. It contains an account of Gayarré's connection with the Society and an excellent picture of him as a young man at the time of his election as president in 1860.

KING, GRACE. *Charles Gayarré*. An excellent biography. Appears as an introduction to the 1903 edition of Gayarré's *History of Louisiana*.

KING, GRACE. *Creole families of New Orleans* (New York, 1921), p. 256. Gives genealogy and life.

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Publications*, III, Part 4 (March, 1906). This is the Gayarré memorial number and contains a biography, discussions of his histories and his novels and William Beer's check-list of his periodical contributions, which contains certain mistakes. The second item listed was not by Gayarré but by Bernard de Marigny.

MATAS, RUDOLPH. "An evening with Gayarré." An address at the annual dinner of the Medical Library Association, New Orleans, May

20, 1931. Contains a reprint of Gayarré's address to the New Orleans Medical and Surgical Association, delivered December 3, 1887. (Also contains a reproduction of Gayarré's death mask.)

MEYNIER, A. (ed.), *Louisiana biographies*, Vol. I, No. 4 (March 4, 1882). Much of this sketch was reprinted in the preceding item.

National cyclopedia of American biography, VI, 253.

NELSON, JOHN HERBERT. "Charles Gayarré, historian and romancer," *Sewanee review* (Sewanee, Tennessee), XXXIII (1925), 427-38.

QUEYROUSE, LEONA. "Charles Gayarré," *CRAL*, November, 1887, p. 443.

RICHARDSON, FRANK D. "A last evening with Judge Gayarré," *Louisiana historical quarterly*, XIV, No. 1 (January, 1931), 81. Contains also a picture of Gayarré in his study.

TESTUT, CHARLES. *Portraits littéraires* (New Orleans, 1850), p. 19.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST¹

Gayarré's Histories of Louisiana

1830. *Essai historique sur la Louisiane*. Nouvelle-Orléans: imprimé par Benjamin Levy. Au coin des rues de Chartres et Bienville. 20×11.6 cm. 2 vols. (Vol. I, pp. iv+210+vi; Vol. II, pp. 231+vi.)

Covers period 1513-1829.

- 1846-47. *Histoire de la Louisiane*. Nouvelle-Orléans: imprimé par Magne & Weisse, 81 rue de Chartres. 22.5×12 cm. 2 vols. (Vol. I [1846], pp. xi+377; Vol. II [1847], pp. vii+427.) (T, H, NYPL)

Volume II has O'Reilly's ordinances as an appendix. Covers period from 1492 to 1770. Published at \$5.00.

1848. *Romance of the history of Louisiana*. A series of lectures. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. 18.2×12 cm. Pp. 265. (T, H, NYPL)

Four lectures covering period 1539-1717. These were originally delivered under the name of "The poetry or the romance of the history of Louisiana," before the People's Lyceum of New Orleans. Published at \$0.75; later raised to \$1.00. The first one or two were published in *De Bow's commercial review*, June and July, 1847.

1851. *Louisiana, its colonial history and romance*. New York: Harper & Bros. 23.5×14.7 cm. Pp. xiv+15-546, 1-6 of advertisements. (T, H, NYPL)

A reprint of the four lectures which comprised the preceding item, to which was added a second series of seven lectures never before published. Covers period 1539-1743. Published at \$2.00.

1852. *Louisiana: its history as a French colony*. Third series of lectures. New York: John Wiley, 167 Broadway. 23.3×14.5 cm. Pp. xi+17-380. (T, H, NYPL)

Consisted of seven lectures covering period 1743-69. Contains Pitman's plan of New Orleans and appendix of documents.

¹ "T" after an item means it is to be found in the collection of Edward L. Tinker, New York; "H," at the Howard Memorial Library of New Orleans; "NYPL," at the New York Public Library; "LSU," at the Louisiana State University Library at Baton Rouge; "LC," at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; "*CRAL*" is the abbreviation for *Les comptes rendus de l'Athénée louisianais*. Complete file indexed in Tinker Collection.

1854. *History of Louisiana: the French domination*. New York: Redfield, 110-12 Nassau Street. 22.4×14 cm. 2 vols. (Vol. I, pp. vi+540; Vol. II, pp. xi+380.) (H, NYPL)

Composed of the three series of lectures contained in the two preceding items and is printed from same plates but with changed pagination. Covers whole period of Louisiana history to 1769.

1854. *History of Louisiana: the Spanish domination*. New York: Redfield, 110-12 Nassau Street. 22.4×14 cm. Pp. xii+649. (H, NYPL)

Covers period 1769-1803.

1866. *History of Louisiana: the American domination*. New York: William J. Widdleton. 22.4×14 cm. Pp. viii+693. (H, NYPL)

Covers period from 1803 to 1816, and a supplemental chapter brings the history up to 1861 in the form of annals.

1866. *History of Louisiana: the French domination*. New York: William J. Widdleton. 22.6×13.9 cm. 2 vols. in one. (Vol. I, pp. 540; Vol. II, pp. 380, map of Vieux Carré.) (T, H, NYPL)

This was merely a reprint of the Redfield edition of 1854 from same plates.

1866. *History of Louisiana*. 1st ed. New York. 22.6×13.9 cm. 4 vols. (H, NYPL)

Volumes I and II were reprints from the plates of the Redfield edition of *The French domination* of 1854. Volume III was a reprint from the plates of the Redfield edition of *The Spanish domination* of 1854. Volume IV was a reprint from the plates of Widdleton's own edition of *The American domination*, which he had brought out separately in the same year.

This is the first complete edition of Gayarré's *History of Louisiana* published in the English language. The publishers' price was \$4.00 per volume.

1879. *History of Louisiana*. 2d ed. New Orleans: Gresham. 4 vols. (Vol. I, pp. 540; Vol. II, pp. 383; Vol. III, pp. xii+649; Vol. IV, pp. viii+693.) (H)

Gayarré paid Widdleton \$4,000 for the plates of the four volumes of his history of Louisiana and rented them out to Gresham to print this edition. The paper is a little smaller than the Widdleton edition.

1885. *History of Louisiana*. With city and topographical maps of the state, ancient and modern. 3d ed. New Orleans: Armand Hawkins. 20.2×13 cm. 4 vols. (Appendices: Vol. I, *The Black Code*; Vol. II, *Vaudreuil's police ordinances; decree of Superior Counsel, 29 October, 1768*; Vol. III, *Morales regulations of land grants*;

treaty and conventions of cession of Louisiana to the United States.) (H, NYPL)

Gayarré rented the same plates to Armand Hawkins, from which to print this edition. Hawkins was an old Cockney Englishman who had come to New Orleans as a boy and there became the owner of a shop on Canal Street. Here he sold antique furniture and rare books; and the literati of the city, among them Gayarré and Lafcadio Hearn, used to congregate in the back of his shop to talk.

1903. *History of Louisiana*. With city and topographical maps of the state, ancient and modern, and with a biography of the author by Grace King. Bibliography by William Beer, librarian of New Orleans Public Library, together with an exhaustive index. 4th ed. New Orleans: F. F. Hansell & Bro., Ltd. 20.5×13.2 cm. 4 vols. (Vol. I, pp. xxxii+540, frontispiece portrait of Gayarré; reproduction of map [by Lopez, 1763] of Louisiana with insert of map of New Orleans; Vol. II, pp. 383, reproduction of Kitchen's map of Louisiana; Vol. III, pp. xii+649; Vol. IV, pp. viii+693+[Index] xxiv, contemporary map of Louisiana.) (T, H, NYPL)

This was a reprint from the same plates, but, on account of the added features, is by far the best working edition. Miss Grace King, of New Orleans, who eased Gayarré's last years, became his legatee; and it was she who permitted F. F. Hansell and Brother, a New Orleans firm of stationers and booksellers, to use the plates.

Books Other than Histories

1854. *The school for politics*. A dramatic novel. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 346-348, Broadway. 18.8×12.5 cm. Pp. 158. (T, H, NYPL)

There was a second edition in 1855, and a third in 1877. It was translated into French by the Count de Sartigues, ex-ambassador from France to the United States, and was quoted in *Revue des deux mondes*.

1865. *Dr. Bluff in Russia, or The Emperor Nicholas and the American doctor*. A comedy in two acts. New Orleans: The Bronze Pen Print, 112 Gravier Street. 21.8×14.5 cm. Pp. 49. (T, H, NYPL). For sale at the Bronze Pen Stationery Store, 62 Bourbon Street.

1866. *Philip II of Spain*. With an introductory letter by George Bancroft. New York: W. J. Widdleton. 20×13 cm. Pp. 366. (T, H, NYPL)

1872. *Fernando de Lemos*. Truth and fiction. A novel. New York: G. W. Carleton & Co.; London: S. Low, Son & Co. 18.2×12 cm. Pp. 486. (T, H, NYPL)

In English only. Bound in boards. Also have paper covered copy published by R. F. Fenno & Co., New York.

1882. *Aubert Dubayet, or The two sister republics*. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co., 112 Fifth Avenue. 19.5×13.4 cm. Pp. 479. (T, H, NYPL)

Published only in English. Library of Congress has edition with imprint: Boston, J. R. Osgood & Co., 1882.

1890. "Quevedo" (unpublished). A historical novel of the period of Philip III.

Pamphlets

1826. *Discours adressé à la législature, en réfutation du rapport de Mr. Livingston sur l'abolition de la peine de mort*. Nouvelle-Orléans: de l'imprimerie de Benjamin Levy, à l'encoignure des rues Chartres et Bienville. 22×13.3 cm. Pp. 8. (H, LSU)

1830. *Address, complimenting the French Chambers on the revolution of 1830*.

It was warmly received in France. It must have appeared in the records of the Louisiana legislature for 1830; and, although I have never seen a copy, I believe it must have been printed in pamphlet form.

1847. *Report of the secretary of state on public education*. Pp. 8. (H)

1848. *Report on the state library and the acquisition of Spanish documents*. [New Orleans, 1848?] 24 cm. Pp. 16. Presented December 6, 1848. Issued as an appendix to the *Journal of the senate* of the state of Louisiana, session of 1848. New Orleans: printed at the office of the Louisiana courier, 1848.

Earlier reports, both English and French, dated January, 1847, and January, 1848, are included in the *Journal of the senate* for 1847 and for 1848.

1850. *Report of the secretary of state on the state library*. Baton Rouge. 23×14.5 cm. Pp. 18. Issued as one of the appendixes to the *Journals and official documents of the senate of the state of Louisiana*, session of 1850. New Orleans: printed at the office of the Bee. (T, H)

This valuable document contains a list of the additions to the library made by Gayarré during his first term as secretary of state; also the correspondence with Gayangos respecting the obtaining of copies of documents relating to Louisiana from the Spanish archives. Gayangos, in one letter, says: "I may, likewise, have access to a private collection of original papers belonging to a descendant of one of the governors of Louisiana, among which there is, I am told, an excellent history of Louisiana, written in French, by a gentleman of the name of Senlis, in his own handwriting, being original and never printed. The gentleman I allude to resides at Cuenca." This correspondence has been reprinted in the *Louisiana historical quarterly*, Vol. IV, No. 4 (1921). The report was earlier reprinted in *House miscellaneous document 22*, U.S., 46th Congress, 2d Ses-

sion, Congressional Series, Vol. No. 1929, with title: "The early history of Louisiana. Letter from Mr. Charles Gayarre to the Hon. Randall L. Gibson, of the house of representatives, relative to the early history of Louisiana. < To accompany bill H. R. 4191 > February 2, 1880. . . ." Referred to the Committee on foreign affairs and ordered to be printed.

1852. *Address to the graduates of Centenary College, delivered at Jackson, La., on the 28th July, 1852.* New Orleans. Pp. 10. (Grace King Collection.)

1853. *Address of Charles Gayarré, to the people of the state, on the late frauds perpetrated at the election held on the 7th November, 1853, in the city of New Orleans.* New Orleans: printed by Sherman & Wharton, 98 Camp Street. 22.6×15 cm. Pp. 16. (T, H)

1854. *Letter to the editor of the Washington Union, D.C.,* October 23d. (NYPL)

It was an answer to the charges published in the *Courrier* of New Orleans, accusing Gayarré of betraying his party by publishing the *School for politics*. It was first published in the *Washington Union* and then as a very small, 11-page pamphlet.

1854. *Influence of the mechanic arts on the human race.* Two lectures delivered before the Mechanics' Institute of New Orleans, and also before the Franklyn Institute at Mobile. New York: John Wiley. Pp. 86. (H)

First published in *De Bow's commercial review*, XVII, 229 ff. The last thirteen pages of this item consist of a reprint of the address delivered to the graduates of Centenary College in 1852.

1855. *Address to the general convention of the Know Nothing party, assembled in Philadelphia on June 5, 1855.* 21.8×14.4 cm. Pp. 34. (NYPL)

This pamphlet had no place, no date, no printer, and no title. Several copies exist with the title written on the blank cover in Gayarré's own hand. Sometimes he writes it "Convention of the Know-Nothing Party," and at others, "of the American Party." The speech was first published in a Philadelphia paper and then as a pamphlet, but was never delivered before the Convention because Gayarré was barred on the ground of being a Roman Catholic. It is his protest against this action.

1855. *Address to the people of Louisiana on the state of the parties.* New Orleans: printed by Sherman, Wharton & Co., No. 41 Camp Street, corner of Gravier. 21.8×14.4 cm. Pp. 40. (T, H, NYPL)

(No title-page printed.) This was probably the speech Gayarré intended to make at the convention of the Know Nothing party. As he was barred, the speech was never made; but, wishing to perpetuate it for posterity, I believe he added a paragraph against religious intolerance and then published it anyhow.

1857. *A sketch of General Jackson: by himself*. Charles Gayarré. New Orleans: printed by E. C. Wharton, 41 Camp Street. 21.2×12.5 cm. Pp. 21. (NYPL)

Signed at the end Charles Gayarré, September 15, 1856. The major part of this sketch consists of quotations from letters of Jackson loaned to Gayarré, which explains the reason for the "by himself" in the title. I have the MS of this item, 29 foolscap pages. It bears the title "General Andrew Jackson." William Beer, in his bibliography published in the *Publications of the Louisiana Historical Society*, Vol. III, Part 4 (1906), lists two items on Jackson in the same year (1857): "*A sketch of General Jackson: by himself*," and "*A sketch of General Jackson*." He gives to both the same number of pages. I believe that Beer saw the MS and listed it as another pamphlet by mistake.

- [1860]. *To capitalists and manufacturers*. 22.8×13.5 cm. Pp. 7. Map of Roncal on reverse of front cover. (NYPL)

A short sketch of the unlimited water power and other advantages existing at Roncal, Parish of Tangipahoa. Gayarré's name and New Orleans are printed at end. There is no date; but I believe Gayarré published this in 1860, when he was contemplating living in Spain, in an attempt to sell his plantation at Roncal.

- [1861]. *Letter from Judge Gayarré. The cession of Louisiana to the United States*. New Orleans. 25.4×16 cm. Pp. 4. (T, H)

1866. *The New Orleans boot-black*. A tale. New Orleans. 22.2×14 cm. Pp. 26. (NYPL)

A rather stupid story of melodramatic suffering following in the wake of the Civil War. Not in Beer's list.

1866. *A lecture on oaths, amnesties and rebellion*, delivered in Odd Fellows' Hall, January 25, 1866. New Orleans: The Bronze Pen Book and Job Print, 112 Gravier Street. 21.7×13.6 cm. Pp. 26. (NYPL)

A scholarly treatise defining an oath and an amnesty and tracing their history through the ages, ending with an argument declaring that the test oaths of loyalty imposed upon the southerners by the federal government should be abolished.

- [1873]. *Hon. Charles Gayarré's address to the voters of the First Congressional District*. 22.2×14.3 cm. Pp. 11. (T, H)

No date, but it was published during his campaign for Congress in 1873.

1874. *The financial and political condition of Louisiana*. New Orleans.

Consists of a number of letters to the editor of the *New York Times*, calling attention to the vast increase in taxation as compared between 1850 and 1873, and also of a criticism on a speech of Mr. Horatio N. Ogden. I have never seen a copy. This item is taken from Beer's list.

1876. *Biographical sketch of John Rutledge of South Carolina* (one of the signers of the Constitution of the United States). New Orleans. Pp. 16.

Written at the request of the Committee on the Restoration of Independence Hall, Philadelphia, and published by it. O. de Bouchel later made a translation into French, which was published in *CRAL*, November, 1877, p. 102.

1877. *The cornucopia of old, the lottery wheel of the new*. The generous and tender hand-maiden of all the virtues. A historical résumé by a Louisianian. New Orleans. 18.7×11.6 cm. Pp. 12. (T, H)

This learned defense of the Louisiana lottery upon historical grounds has the style and displays the special erudition of Gayarré; and while I am unable to give absolute proofs, I am convinced that Gayarré wrote it. Miss Grace King agrees with this theory. In addition, it was a matter of common knowledge that Gayarré did work for the lottery.

[1885]. *The Creoles of history and the Creoles of romance*. A lecture delivered in the Hall of Tulane University, New Orleans. 22.4×15 cm. Pp. 15. (T, H) (LC has ed. with cover-title, 32 pp.)

This lecture was delivered April 25, 1885, and was a bitter attack upon George W. Cable and his books.

1887. *Hon. Charles Gayarré, to the New Orleans Medical and Surgical Association*, December 3, 1887. 17.2×25.2 cm. 16 pages unnumbered. Grace King Collection.

This address was reprinted in *An evening with Gayarré*, by Rudolph Matas, M.D., New Orleans, 1931.

[1889]. *Biographical sketch of Hon. Charles Gayarré* by a Louisianian. 21.5×14.5 cm. Pp. 24. Dated at end: New Orleans, March 4, 1889. (T, H)

Although it has been attributed to E. C. Wharton, this pamphlet is believed to have been written by Gayarré himself. On this point see "Autobiography of Charles Gayarré," published in the *Louisiana historical quarterly* of January, 1929, Vol. XII, No. 1. This sketch is there reprinted.

[?] *Anniversary oration*, celebrating the thirty-fifth anniversary of Dolbear Commercial College. An 8-page pamphlet. Grace King Collection.

NOTE: In his *Contributions to pamphlet and periodical literature of Charles Gayarré* ("Publications of the Louisiana Historical Society," Vol. III, Part 4), William Beer includes as the second item "Aux électeurs de l'état de la Louisiane. Réponse du Créole au dernier pamphlet du citoyen naturalisé. Nouvelle-Orléans 1827." In the first place, Gayarré was not in Louisiana when it was published; he was studying law in Philadelphia, 1826-29. Also, the pamphlet contains an account of a happening which took place between its author and

Mazureau soon after the latter's arrival in New Orleans, which was in 1804. Gayarré was born in 1805. The real author of this pamphlet was Bernard de Marigny.

Periodical Contributions

American Catholic quarterly review (Philadelphia)

"Don Carlos and Isabelle de Valois." January, 1887.

American magazine (New York)

"An old street in New Orleans." December, 1887.

Gayarré's notes on the margins of his copy showed that parts were suppressed and the article was not paid for.

Belford's magazine

"Literature in Louisiana." V (August, 1890), 14.

"Winning a wife in Louisiana in the olden time." V (1890), 13.

"The women of Louisiana." VI (1891), 11.

"La Fontaine: A psychology study. The phenomenon of co-existent idiocy and genius in the same man." 1892.

Catholic world (New York)

"Mary Stuart. Investigation into the charges against her moral character." August and September, 1886.

"The Normans on the banks of the Mississippi." March, 1886.

Comptes rendus de l'Athénée louisianais (CRAL)

"Cession de la Louisiane à la France." (Translated from English by Armand Mercier.) May, 1877, p. 58; July, 1877, p. 71.

"Esquisse biographique de John Rutledge." (Translated from English by O. de Bouchel.) November, 1877, p. 102.

"La race latine en Louisiane." March, 1885, p. 79.

"Histoire de la Louisiane." (Extraits.) March, 1895, p. 248.

De Bow's commercial review (New Orleans)

"The poetry or the romance of the history of Louisiana." June and July, 1847.

"Influence of the mechanic arts on the human race." XVII, 229.

Frank Leslie's popular monthly

"Historical sketch of Washington's surrender at Fort Necessity." November, 1884.

Harper's magazine (New York)

"A Louisiana sugar plantation of the Old Régime." LXXIV (1887), 15.

"The New Orleans bench and bar in 1823." LXXVII (November, 1888), 12.

"Barthelemy de Macarty's revenge." LXXX (1889), 5.

Louisiana historical quarterly

"Historical notes on the commerce and agriculture of Louisiana 1720-1766." Vol. II, No. 3 (July, 1919), pp. 286-89.

"Gayarré's report on Louisiana archives in Spain." Vol. IV, No. 4 (October, 1921), pp. 464-80.

This is a reprint of part of the *Report of the secretary of state, on the state library* (Baton Rouge, 1850), which is listed in the bibliography.

"Autobiography of Charles Gayarré." Vol. XII, No. 1 (January, 1920), pp. 5-27.

This is a reprint of the *Biographical sketch of Hon. Charles Gayarré* by a Louisianian (New Orleans, 1889), prefaced by an introduction by Henry P. Dart, in which he gives the reasons why he believes Gayarré wrote it himself..

"Four letters from Charles Gayarré." 1878-89. Vol. XII, No. 1 (January, 1929), pp. 28-30.

- I. To George A. Pike, 1878, on certain magazines refusing his articles.
- II. To Major W. M. Robinson, 1885, giving the history of a pirate's dagger presented by Gayarré to Robinson.
- III. To W. W. Howe, 1888, giving his reasons for resigning from the Historical Society after twenty-eight years of service.
- IV. To William C. Stubbs, 1889, relating the history of Audubon Park in New Orleans.

Magazine of American history

"Historical sketch of Pierre and Jean Lafitte, the famous smugglers of Louisiana, 1809-1814." X (October and November, 1883), 15.

"Character of Andrew Jackson." XIII (1885), 161.

North American review (New York)

"The southern question." November and December, 1877.

A splendid article on Reconstruction.

La revue (New Orleans)

"Childe Harold à Inez—poésie inédite." Vol. I, No. 2 (1895).

Southern bivouac

"W. H. Seward on Reconstruction." N.S., I (February, 1886). 521-23.

An account of a spirited interview the author had with Seward on this question.

"The famous Lafittes at Galveston." N.S., II (August, 1886), 176.

Southern Historical Society papers (Richmond, Virginia)

"Military operations of General Beauregard by Col. Alfred Roman." Vol. XII, Nos. 10, 11, and 12 (October, November, and December).

An exhaustive review of this book.

[Some magazine—name unknown]

"Address of Judge Gayarré on the southern character."

This article is in Miss King's collection.

Never published

"Essay on the quadroons." 1890.

Newspaper Contributions

L'Abeille (New Orleans)

"Discours prononcé dans la Cathédrale à l'occasion de la fête du 8 janvier." January 11, 1830.

Courrier de la Louisiane (New Orleans)

"Transcript of a speech delivered in French on behalf of the Democratic party," on June 27, 1844.

The Daily True Delta (New Orleans)

"Mr. Gayarré's reply to Dr. McWhorter."

This was an answer to McWhorter's letter of February 11, 1851, criticizing Gayarré's conduct as secretary of state, in the matter of the Louisiana State Bank.

The Washington Union (District of Columbia)

"Letter to the editor of the Washington Union." October 23, 1854.

The Mobile Advertiser (Alabama)

"An address to the Confederate Congress." 1864 (?).

New Orleans Bulletin

"Financial condition of Louisiana." "Political conditions of Louisiana." Two articles in December, 1874.

Country Visitor (New Orleans)

"Importance of establishing a chair of belles lettres in New Orleans." March 4, 1880.

"The reformer of abuses under Peter the Cruel, of Spain."

Date unknown.

The Democrat (New Orleans)

"The mouths of the Mississippi." (Historical account of the passes.) September 26, 1880.

"Hurricanes in colonial Louisiana." October 3, 1880.

"The blacks of Louisiana." Six articles from October 17 to December 5, 1880.

"*The Encyclopedia Britannica*." January 30, 1881.

Times-Democrat (New Orleans)

"On the establishment of paper mills in Louisiana." March 7, 1880.

"Some interesting letters." April 20, 1883.

"Men of letters." May 8, 1883.

"Constantinople, Aragon and Shakespeare." August 5, 1883.

"The nineteenth century interviewed in Louisiana." August 12, 1883.

"Historical sketch of a famous Spaniard." (*Le Cid*.) August 19, 1883.

"The tragic muse in Louisiana." (Leblanc de Villeneuve.) November 30, 1884.

"The Creoles of Louisiana from 1700 to 1803." December 28, 1884, and January 4, 1885.

"Mr. Cable's freedman's case in equity." January 11 and 18, 1885.

"The manufacturing resources of Louisiana."

Date unknown; probably 1880.

"On the advantages of manufacturing porcelain in Louisiana."

Date unknown. It might have been published either in *Times* or in *Country Visitor*.

States (New Orleans)

"The adventures of a toreador, or bull fighter in Spain, Mexico and Louisiana."

Published as a Sunday serial, beginning March 1, 1885.

Dixie (Atlanta, Georgia)

"The Creoles of history and the Creoles of romance."

In annual Christmas number, December, 1888.

"A leading Episcopal paper of New York" (name unknown)

"Reminiscences of Dr. Francis L. Hawkes."

In a letter written in 1890 Gayarré mentions the foregoing article.



PRINTER'S COPY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By FREDERICK A. POTTLE

IT IS unnecessary, I trust, to enumerate to members of a bibliographical society the values to be derived from a study of printer's copy. Even when we have pushed a text back to its first printed edition, there is still a great deal that we do not know and cannot know about it until we have seen the author's copy and the corrected proofs. Of course it almost never happens in books printed before 1800 that we are so fortunate as to possess both copy and proofs; when we recover even fragments of either, we are justified in making the most of them. But we are not always certain what it is that we do have. About proofs there can be but little question, but the identification of printer's copy is by no means so simple a matter as dealers in manuscripts have been prone to assume. Whenever a manuscript for a printed book turns up, the dealer is likely to catalogue it as printer's copy, and few purchasers are in a position to gainsay him. Printer's copy of old books is, in the nature of things, excessively scarce. And there have hitherto been very few studies setting forth the criteria by which it can be infallibly detected.

That is to say, I know of very few. There may be, scattered in various unlikely places, several trustworthy descriptions of English manuscripts which passed through the hands of a printer before 1800. But I have come upon only two and they are both for the Elizabethan period: "An Elizabethan printer and his copy," by W. W. Greg, in *Library*, IV (4th ser.), 102-18,

and "Proof-reading by English authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," by Percy Simpson, in *Oxford Bibliographical Society proceedings and papers*, II, Part I, 5-24. For the period in question one could not ask for better. Dr. Greg has investigated the autograph manuscript of Cantos XIV-XLVI of Sir John Harington's translation of *Orlando furioso*, now in the British Museum, a portion of the copy from which Richard Field in 1591 set the printed book; and Mr. Simpson has performed the same service for the Bodleian manuscript of the fifth book of Hooker's *Ecclesiasticall politie* which served as copy for John Windet in 1597. These two fine manuscripts show with gratifying completeness how an author prepared copy at the end of the sixteenth century and how a printer treated it. If they are at all unrepresentative, it is because the authors were more careful and the printers more painstaking than usual.

The conclusions reached by Dr. Greg and Mr. Simpson may be briefly summarized for our purposes as follows:

1. In Elizabethan times copy could be written on both sides of the paper. Both these manuscripts are written book-fashion in pages, though numbered in folios.¹ Corrections and additions were made between the lines and in the margins, which were purposely left generous for that purpose.

2. The proofreader made occasional notes and queries in the copy, just as today. But the only certain and invariable sign of his activities is the marking of the beginnings of the type pages. There were as yet no long galleys; each page was a galley. The beginning of each page is indicated in the copy by a long square bracket opening toward the right, and opposite in the margin is entered the signature letter and the number of the page *in the gathering*.² Thus the marginal notation "D₃" does not mean, as

¹ I suppose so, though Greg's facsimile shows no folio number. (The manuscript has been severely trimmed.) He refers to the page from which the facsimile was made as "119a." Mr. Simpson says that Hooker's folios are numbered, though his facsimile happens to be of a verso.

² Harington's copy being in stanzas, the bracket would in general not have been nec-

in a printed book, the third *leaf* of signature D; it means the third *page* of that signature, or that which in the book bears the notation D2.

3. The printer normalized punctuation, capitalization, spelling, italics, etc., according to the practice of the printing-house in which he worked, and without any previous editing of the manuscript. Field's compositor paid very little attention to Harington's spelling or his punctuation. Hooker's manuscript was prepared more in accordance with Windet's standards, but even here the printer asserted his own preferences in spelling and punctuation.

It has been correctly assumed that we cannot, without verification, set up these same tests for eighteenth-century copy. But what the tests for that period are has not hitherto been made clear. The recovery among the Malahide papers of a very large portion of the printer's copy of James Boswell's *Journal of a tour to the Hebrides* and a long, continuous fragment of the copy of the *Life of Johnson* makes it possible to investigate the problem with a sufficient quantity of authentic material.

The manuscript of the *Journal of a tour to the Hebrides* (which, with the rest of the Malahide manuscripts, is now in the possession of Lieutenant Colonel Ralph H. Isham) consists of 314 octavo leaves, roughly $4\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 inches, the great majority of which are written on both sides. These leaves were paged continuously from 1 to (probably) 676, but one leaf is now missing at the beginning, thirty-eight leaves have disappeared at various places in the interior, and at least one leaf is missing at the end.³ The manuscript is not, in its present form, the

essary. To judge from Dr. Greg's facsimile, the proofreader merely drew a short straight line in the margin between the stanzas where the breaks came. Field's proofreader entered the page of the printed book as well as the signature notation (e.g., $\frac{T.5}{215}$); Windet's was content to record only the signature and the page within the *gathering*.

³ For a full collation see No. 33 of *The private papers of James Boswell . . . in the collection of Lt.-Colonel Ralph Heyward Isham: a catalogue by Frederick A. Pottle and Marion S. Pottle* (Oxford University Press, 1931).

entire copy sent to the printer; it is Boswell's original manuscript journal, edited for publication in a way later to be described, and reassembled as a journal after having served as printer's copy.

From various references scattered through Boswell's later journals, we know that the record which he kept while on the tour with Johnson was contained in three bound notebooks. It began on August 18, 1773, the day on which the pair left Edinburgh, and was probably continued down to the middle of October 22, 1773, when they were at Lochbuy in Mull. (Pages 641 of the manuscript and 343 of Hill's edition of the *Tour*. The point of division is the paragraph in which Lady Lochbuy angers Johnson by offering him cold sheep's head.) The entries for August 18, 19, and 20 were in Boswell's "short-hand" style: "a method of my own of writing half words, and leaving out some altogether so as yet to keep the substance and language of any discourse which I had heard so much in view, that I could give it very completely soon after I had taken it down."⁴ With August 21 the style became more full, and finally ended by being almost that of a printed book, though there are some standard abbreviations throughout. For Dr. Johnson's stay in Edinburgh before starting on the tour, Boswell had only rough notes on loose pieces of paper, which have been preserved. From October 22 to November 11 he seems to have had the same kind of memorials, though they are now lost. At various dates during 1780, 1781, and 1782 he continued the full journal from these notes down through the first two paragraphs of October 26, 1773; at least he says in a footnote to the printed book (Hill, p. 360) that this was the last paragraph which Johnson read, and as Johnson certainly saw the journal in June, 1784, it was probably the last Boswell had written until he prepared the text for publication.

This manuscript, while still in its bound notebooks, was read by Sir William Forbes, Mrs. Thrale, and Dr. Johnson. Bos-

⁴ *Life of Johnson*, ed. Hill, III, 270.

well had it with him at Oxford in June 1784, and persuaded Johnson to write on the blank verso of page 667 the paragraph concerning the Honorable Archibald Campbell which duly appeared in the printed text.⁵

In the spring of 1785 Boswell came down to London to put the *Tour* to the press. He plunged, however, into a whirl of dissipation and got little or nothing done until Edmond Malone, who, as the story goes, had seen a specimen sheet at Baldwin's, took charge of this wayward genius and saw to it that he applied himself steadily to his task.⁶ The two worked together over the entire copy. At least half the revision is in Malone's hand, though in passages of any length he appears to be writing from Boswell's dictation. It is not too much to conclude that it was he who taught Boswell the method of preparing copy which was followed for both the *Tour* and the *Life of Johnson*.

The procedure they adopted is difficult to explain clearly, though perfectly easy to understand when one has the manuscript before him. For the portion up to August 19, for which Boswell had only rough notes, fresh copy was prepared. But beginning with the eighth page of the manuscript, it was decided that the original record would serve. The leaves were torn from their covers and prepared for publication by expanding the contractions and making additions and substitutions between the lines and in the margins. Where the changes were too extensive to be managed in this fashion, the passage in the original was scored out and the new paragraph written on a separate piece of paper, the connection of the new matter to the text being indi-

⁵ Hill, p. 357. The printer had trouble with Johnson's difficult script and printed the last sentence, "He lived in 1743, or 44, about 75 years old." Hill is quite right in saying, "This must be a mistake for *He died*." Johnson also wrote "Hickes" instead of "Hicks." In the *Life of Johnson* Boswell appears to give the date June 9 to this paragraph, but his own note in the Hebrides manuscript, apparently written on the spot, is dated June 15.

⁶ The younger James Boswell said that his father and Malone first met on this occasion, but he was certainly mistaken. As Professor Tinker points out (*Letters of Boswell*, II, 349, n. 3), Malone had been a member of the Literary Club since 1782. Boswell's journal shows that they first met at a dinner at Sir Joshua Reynolds', April 14, 1781.

cated by a system of reference signs. As these supplementary leaves have all disappeared, it is not possible to say definitely just how they were associated with the original manuscript. Since the foliation makes no account of them, one's natural assumption would be that they were kept in a pile by themselves, and never inserted in the main bulk of the copy at all. But surely the easiest way, for both author and printer, would have been to interleave the original manuscript, where necessary, with blank pieces of paper of the same size as the original leaves, giving the interleavings page numbers to correspond with the pages which they faced: thus, facing page 16 (a verso) of the journal would be page 16 (a recto) of an interleaving; facing page 17 (a recto) of the journal would be page 17 (a verso) of the interleaving. Then as the printer turned over a page, he would have all the copy for the next before him at a glance, the leaf with the additions being on his left when he was working on a recto page of the original manuscript, and on his right when he was working on a verso. He would have to glance from side to side, but he would not ordinarily have to go from the front of a leaf to the back and then return to the front again. (In a few instances Boswell's printer was asked to do even that.)

It will perhaps have occurred to the reader that there is a simpler and better way, provided one makes his first draft with the intention of editing it for printer's copy. If you write on only one side of your leaves, you can make your additions and corrections on the blank versos, those for any leaf being written on the verso of the preceding. The concluding portion of the journal (p. 645 to the end), being written only on one side, was in fact handled in this way. Here, when the (originally blank) versos have been paged, they bear the numbers of the pages they face.

The insertions on separate leaves and blank versos were not all the printer was expected to make. When Boswell had letters or other documents, such as Johnson's Aberdeen burgess-ticket, to introduce, the printer was directed by a note to "take it in,"

or to "take in leaf C," or "take in letter marked D." Such documents were pretty certainly not intercalated but sent in a parcel by themselves. It must be remembered that the eighteenth-century printer worked with small portions of copy at a time, and so was less likely to be confused than he would have been if he had been given in one lot the entire copy for the book prepared in this manner.

The copy, however, is at best very untidy and complicated in appearance; it does not look to twentieth-century eyes like printer's copy at all. And when one compares a few pages with the printed book and finds wide divergences in spelling, punctuation, capitalization, italics, not infrequently in phraseology, his first impression would certainly be that this was not printer's copy but a revised draft, to be transcribed and normalized by an amanuensis. But he would be wrong. That is *was* printer's copy is shown by the triumphant marking of signatures at places exactly corresponding to the signature division of the printed book. The *pages* are no longer marked off as in Elizabethan times; we have merely the appropriate signature letter and the number of the page that begins the signature (F65, G81, H97, etc.). Beyond these unobtrusive symbols, I do not think that there is another note or jotting by the printer in the entire manuscript. In particular, there was no editing of the manuscript in the printing-shop. The printer had to decide on capitals, punctuation, italics, etc., as he went along.

Of the manuscript of the *Life of Johnson*, 120 quarto leaves survive, 111 of them being continuous. The outside dates are March 15, 1776—March 31, 1778 (roughly, Hill, II, 432—III, 230). But, as in the case of the *Tour*, a good deal of the actual copy is missing. I quote from my description in the *Catalogue* (No. 303):

Boswell first wrote out a rough draft on one side of quarto leaves of uniform size. He did not, however, transcribe the many letters and other documents which he wished to include, but associated them in some way with the draft, indicating either in the draft or on the documents themselves what portions

were to be "taken in." Wherever necessary, documents in a series were connected by links, probably on separate pieces of paper. Quotations from books, if they ran to any length, were handled in the same way; the printer was given a page reference, and the beginning and ending of the quotation indicated. More than this, when Boswell found portions of his original Journals which could be included with only minor revision, he frequently tore them out of their covers and directed the printer to "take them in." The Ashbourne Journal of September 1777 was one of these portions, falling between pp. 619 and 620 of the draft. . . . This rough draft, though containing occasional hiatuses and notes for expansion or revision, was carefully and fully written, and was in general capable of publication as it stood. Having finished it, Boswell subjected the whole to "nice correction." This revision was minute and extensive, and gives evidence of a great deal more of anxious thought and patient labor than one would infer from the constant accusations of idleness and impotence with which he was filling his Journals during the period that he was at work on the MS. Phraseology was altered, passages were transposed, some omissions were made, and a good deal was added. . . . Some verbal correction was made between the lines and some revision indicated in the margins, but as the margins of this copy were narrow, Boswell usually resorted to the blank versos of his leaves for most of his additions and corrections. The changes for any leaf were invariably made on the verso of the *preceding* leaf, so that as the printer turned over the leaves, he might always have the entire copy for any given portion before him at once. The various corrections and additions were connected with the text by an elaborate system of reference signs, but sometimes the additions are (to use Mr. Scott's phrase) of such "labyrinthine complexity" that, on the evidence of such leaves alone, one would doubt whether a printer could ever have followed such copy. That this MS, however, *was* the printer's copy is established beyond doubt by the presence of all the signature marks (D, E, F, G, I, L, M, N, and Q of Vol. II of the first edition) which would have fallen within this copy, most of them agreeing exactly with the signature division of the printed book; and in those cases where they do not agree, we can account for the variation by an addition or deletion made in the proofs.

To summarize:

1. In spite of the story related by Johnson to Boswell "that a large portion of [the *Dictionary*] having by mistake been written upon both sides of the paper, so as to be inconvenient for the compositor, it cost him twenty pounds to have it transcribed upon one side only," these manuscripts make it amply certain that printer's copy *could* be written on both sides. One should, however, expect to find such copy so ar-

ranged that the compositor would not have to turn a leaf backward and forward.

2. Printer's copy may be very untidy and confused in appearance. But if one sees additions and corrections connected with the text by a consistent system of reference signs, he should suspect that they were intended for a printer rather than for an amanuensis. At this period printers expected to do the work that is now performed by stenographers; if the copy was not radically ambiguous, they would decipher almost anything and reduce it to order.

3. A divergence in spelling, capitalization, italics, even of phraseology, means little. The printer normalized as he went along, and the author (if Boswell was a typical example) was lavish of proof correction.

4. Though in a long manuscript one would be pretty sure to find notes by author or proofreader that would identify it as printer's copy, the one infallible test is the marking of the signatures. These are often inconspicuous and may be missed unless one hunts up, by the aid of the printed book, the exact spots where they should occur. If no signature appears, one should search a little on either side; something may have been added or deleted in the proofs. But if the signature markings are consistently absent from the places where they ought to be, one may be certain that the manuscript is not printer's copy.

SIDE LIGHTS ON WILLIAM JAMES LINTON, 1812-97

By W. F. HOPSON

IN DECEMBER, 1812, there was born in the east end of London, in the parish of Stepney—"the parish for all folk born at sea"—the subject of this sketch. One of the most interesting, many-sided characters of his day and generation—patriot, poet, essayist, editor, translator, private printer and publisher, artist and engraver—he made a definite mark in all these lines of thought and action, and, for the last, of artist-engraver, he was supreme, standing head and shoulders above all engravers in wood up to and including his own time. In the many other fields of his untiring efforts he was no less prolific and pronounced than his great forerunners, Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and Dürer. I am not seeking to place Linton on a pedestal beside these great ones of the art world—he would not have wished it himself; but the time will surely come when this not unfair likeness as regards accomplishment will be appreciated, and some writer, sensing the fact, will produce a monograph rich in interest, charm, and art value. In addition to untiring activities and love of work for its own sake, coupled with natural talents of a high order, both artistic and intellectual, he was an extreme idealist with an idealism which influenced and enriched beyond measure his whole life and character. To say that he was not perfect is no more than to say that he was human; he knew as well as another his own limitations as to character and talent. Toward the end of his long life he summed it all up in these prophetic words:

Though I myself may all forgotten lie,
What I have rightly done or said will live,
My friends the perishing ill in me forgive
And hold the better part in memory.

In the winter of 1905, being at that time in London, I made a pilgrimage to the East End, in the hope of locating a certain block of houses, where Mr. Linton says in his *Reminiscences* he was born. I was disappointed in my quest for information; no one whom I approached had ever heard of Ireland's Row, or even of Mr. Linton, but Charrington's brewery which he also mentions as standing near by was still in evidence and certainly flourishing! It was a quaint neighborhood, full of the life of the streets, with picturesque skylines, and colored by the boldness and independence of its indigent and light-hearted people. It must have been more so in Linton's day—a fit inspiration for one of his own artistic, carefree temperament.

He was of Scotch extraction, his father the son of an Aberdeen ship carpenter. One who knew him well said, "In character he was obstinate and affectionate"; and another writer holds that "he was intolerant of interference in personal, intellectual, and artistic matters." Visiting him in his home at "Appledore," I found him at all times the kindly, generous, and courteous gentleman. I look back in pride and pleasure—yes, in gratitude as well—that I was privileged to know, even in some slight degree, this unique and fine type of man. His sympathy and aid were never asked in vain by fellow-craftsmen or compatriots the world over. In no sense was he a narrow individualist; his sympathies were world-wide. Like Tom Paine, whose life he wrote, the world was his country. His wife, Mrs. Lynn Linton, the noted novelist, said in the early days of their acquaintance, "No one who knew him could fail to love and reverence him—his face was the face of a Christ"; but that "his political creed was his religion. He believed that a social revolution was at hand, when abstract right would take the place of Godless expediency, when wars would cease, when the reign of

peace and truth, of justice without a flaw, and perfect purity of life for men and women would begin." But with all Mr. Linton's political radicalism, he was a deeply religious man. This is abundantly evidenced in his writings, and his family confirms the fact. With all his lack of conventionalities he had little respect for, or patience with, bohemianism.

Mr. Linton was a reticent man regarding his early life, so that his own children have little recollection of hearing him speak of events concerning himself at that time. Unlike most men, he was too busy and too much wrapped up in his own affairs to care to glorify himself in the eyes of his family, and always too much concerned with the needs and sorrows of other people to take much heed for his own. He was at all times, and during his whole life, the busiest man I have ever known or of whom I have read; he was a many-sided personality, and with his pen, brush, and graver he was never at a loss for something with which to occupy his hands and thought. The amount of work he accomplished was truly marvelous, and, with it all, he was not a recluse, but a kindly, sympathetic, social friend and neighbor; and while it was far from his nature to pose or live for effect, his was an interesting, earnest, and forceful personality. As a craftsman myself, merely with the pencil and graver, it is not given to me unduly to exalt or criticize his efforts in other directions, but I may be pardoned for holding with no less a judge than Walter Savage Landor, who dedicated a volume with this inscription:

W. S. LANDOR to W. J. LINTON
a true patriot and a true poet,
characteristics almost equally rare

I do not hesitate, however, to render of my own knowledge his due meed as an artist, and his friendships in this country and abroad speak loudly in his favor concerning other talents where I am, perforce, silent. Although he was easily the greatest wood-engraver of his day, and so acknowledged by all, he was a modest man, for he did not hold himself thus—but I believe the

future will. He was the greatest, because he was the freest, the most artistic, the truest to the natural methods of engraving in wood; he was, moreover, at home in all classes of subjects—nothing came amiss to him. He said to me once, "I have never found it difficult to engrave anything that I could draw." He was a good draftsman, and he held that all engraving was dependent upon the ability to draw well. His talents as a painter and draftsman were the keynotes to his success as an engraver. But, above all, there was something in this man's make-up—some God-given gift, some subtle quality—which made for atmospheric suggestion, that thin film of vibration which adds so much to nature's own painting, and the lack of which in man's efforts detracts in greatest measure from the most ambitious attempts of painter, engraver, and story-teller alike.

Early in life, in 1828 (the year Bewick died), he was apprenticed to George William Bonner, an engraver in wood. He worked for some time with other engravers, notably John Thompson, whom Linton himself considered the greatest of contemporary wood-engravers. In 1836 he became acquainted with John Orrin Smith, the most artistic and progressive of the men of his day. Smith was the freest and most virile of masters; one who must have influenced Linton greatly. What a team these two would have made had Smith but lived out his expectancy! Unfortunately, he died after but six years of the association.

About this time Linton married a sister of Thomas Wade the poet, but she lived for only a brief period. Later he wedded another sister, who was the mother of his children. This earliest marriage to Laura Wade was his youthful romance, lasting for some six months only, and its ending in sudden death with the consequent shock to all his sensibilities was one of the most vital emotions of his life. We know that to this misfortune was largely due all his subsequent restlessness and utter disregard for conventional formalities; but that it did not interfere with his work for art and humanity is abundantly evidenced and no less surprising.

It has been said by one writer that his most serious defect was "carelessness of pecuniary obligations," a characteristic which he himself imputes to Leigh Hunt. This sprang mainly, in my opinion, from the sanguine temperament which so long preserved the vigor of the man, the freedom of the writer, and the artistic quality of his designing and engraving. He was also criticized for not having provided more adequately for the future of his own dear ones, but these same dear children, even to this day, are profoundly thankful for the thorough, well-rounded education he was able to give them, while they wonder how he managed to do it.

Like many another strong personality, he was misunderstood at times, both as to character and as to attitude toward his art work and fellow-craftsmen. Such a man as this we are considering cannot be separated from his everyday opinions and accomplishments, and judged on the one side of the ledger as to character and on the other side as to acts. If it was true that his political creed was his religion, it was equally true that his art beliefs were the truthful standards of his practice. It was charged, without foundation in fact, that in his engraving he gave scant attention to the drawings he was supposed to be reproducing and deliberately changed them to suit his own ideas of fitness. I deny this absolutely, unless it might have been a drawing which he himself commissioned. I am thinking now of that amusing story of how he changed a drawing by William Hamilton Gibson, the artist-naturalist, turning a field of daisies into a rushing torrent. I remember that block very well—it was funny at the time and it has been so ever since, because the story periodically appears in print, and probably will until the end of time. Linton, so far as I know, never bothered his head to explain it. The engraver, before beginning that block, sat and pondered over it; finally he arose and passed it around the family circle (and that circle was large!), asking each in turn what the so-called field of daisies seemed intended to represent; no one could say. It was finally agreed that it might be running

water and was so rendered. It was peculiar, certainly, and rather unusual, but there was no dishonesty about it, and no wilful disregard of the artist's intention, no wish to change or improve his work; the engraver was simply conscientiously endeavoring to carry out the artist's conception. Probably the publisher was clamoring and there was no time to delay for inquiries, so the engraver did the best he could under the circumstances. Other engravers have made no less curious mistakes; printers do the same at times—I've seen blocks printed bottom side up with no comments following. Not long since a large painting was hung in a somewhat similar manner because it seemed to look more natural that way. When it comes to contrasting Linton and his work with our American school of wood-engraving, the comparison is unfair, unwise, and futile. The ideals of the one were not the aims of the other, and our joy in the beauty of the first detracts not a whit, or should not, from our admiration of the second. We are all, more or less, creatures of circumstance, and, in the last analysis, by no means free agents; that which produces in one man, or group of men, a certain self-expression, may create in others a far different result. There is no question between the two of any right or wrong—no need for controversy over the matter. Neither will be convinced by the sincere, good, and just reasoning of the other. May each take pride, therefore, in his own accomplishment, and let his rival bid him Godspeed!

As an instance of the sweeter side of Linton's character, I would note his dealings with Thornton Hunt, the wayward son of Leigh Hunt, with whom, in connection with George Henry Lewes, he attempted to found a liberal journal, the *Leader*, devoted to the cause of world-wide liberty and reform. I have some dozen or more letters written to Hunt during 1849-50, and I believe they have never been printed or quoted from. They show in the most conclusive manner the great forbearance of the writer under strong provocation and attest to his real affection for Thornton Hunt, until Hunt's own acts and evident lack of

honesty of purpose compelled a separation with loss of respect on Linton's part. His love for, and pleasure in, the company of his own children, and later on of his grandchildren, was manifested in the care he took to entertain them, especially at Christmas time. A number of life-sized sketches of Santa Claus done in pencil and colored crayons, which he made for such events, reveals this trait. The freedom and spontaneity of their execution attest the pleasure he took in doing them; possibly they were drawn from his own reflection in the mirror.

Upon the failure of the *Leader*, so far as Linton was concerned, he undertook the publication of the *English republic*, a periodical devoted to the subject nearest his heart, namely, the advancement of world-wide liberty, justice, and reform, and this occupied the greater part of his time for nearly five years.

The firm of Smith and Linton was closely connected with the early history of the *Illustrated London news*, and the blocks which Linton did himself were the best of all the work ever executed for that great journal. Linton had a hand in most of the long line of noteworthy illustrated books of the day, among others the *Book of the Thames*, a beautifully illustrated volume contributed to by the best engravers of the time, Smith and Linton among the rest. However, these blocks were small in size, and Mr. Linton told me that Smith and Linton undertook their part of this work in answer to criticisms made by their rivals that they could engrave only large blocks like those for the *News*. It is needless to say that the miniature blocks they did for this artistic publication were among the very best in the volume.

In 1866, late in the year, Linton first came to America; his purposes were personal, financial, and political. In the latter object he was bitterly disappointed, as he had confidently hoped to obtain ready aid on this side for struggling Italy; it seemed to him that in free America, so called, we were less free, less democratic, and less generous in our aid for others even than Englishmen. As an artist, however, he was received with open

arms, and made much of from the start. His first work as an engraver was done for *Frank Leslie's illustrated newspaper*. He did not remain for long with Leslie, but was soon busily at work for the best monthly publications and illustrated books.

Soon after Mr. Linton's arrival in this country he was elected to membership in the Century Club of New York. This was an honor of which he was justly proud, and he valued it accordingly; his monthly visits to the Club were his chief recreations, and the men he met there and the friendships formed in consequence were among the élite of the art and literary world of the day. William Cullen Bryant, president of the Club; Richard Henry Stoddard, poet; with Edmund Clarence Stedman and Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Daniel Huntington and William Page, artists—the latter one-time president of the National Academy of Design—with Dr. Rimmer and Peter Cooper, to name but a few, were among his true friends while life lasted. In 1870 Mr. Linton himself was elected a member of the National Academy of Design, and Yale University honored him with the degree of Master of Arts in 1891.

Early in the spring of 1870 Mr. Linton settled down with his family at "Appledore" on the outskirts of New Haven. I imagine what attracted him to this place was its likeness in style and atmosphere to the cottage homes of his own land—a likeness quite unusual in modern America. It has been said that Mr. Linton bought this property, but that is a mistake; he rented it from the Mather family who owned it. After it was given up by the Lintons I spent some time looking over the house and grounds, thinking I might like the beautiful little home for my own use, but the evident trend of the neighborhood discouraged me from the thought. Its natural beauty and the associations clustering about the place would at that particular time have just suited my mood and circumstance of living. Mr. W. J. Hennessy, the painter and illustrator, who married one of the Mather sisters and was a friend of Linton's, was the immediate cause of the great engraver's knowledge of the

property. At the funeral services of his faithful and much-loved old English housekeeper, Mrs. Moss, Mr. Linton took his place at the front door and as the friends and neighbors entered he had a welcoming smile and handshake for each and every one as he thanked them for coming.

I have referred to Linton's political creed as the supposed basis of his religious faith, but what he wrote as far back as 1868 is a more truthful picture of the man.

MY CREED

I know not either heaven or hell;
God is, and we exist in Him—
Believing this, however dim
My sight, I see that all is well.

Ay! Dim indeed; beyond the abyss
That skirts our poor horizon's rim
I look in vain, yet trust in Him
The abysmal also must be His.

My creed is but a single word;
"God" only is my prayer, my hymn;
Living or dying, through the dim
Far future I see God the Lord.

Mr. Linton rests in the peaceful little God's Acre a short distance from "Appledore" on the old road out into the country beyond.

THE ELIZABETHAN CLUB OF YALE UNIVERSITY

By GILBERT MCCOY TROXELL

AT THE time of its foundation the Elizabethan Club of Yale University symbolized, to its academic world, the advent of radicalism. For years the dangers of originality had been avoided with such care that they were believed to be imaginary. The various college institutions were well established and almost venerable, and as undergraduates regarded them with the reverence and awe tinged with hysteria that serve usually to protect traditions, everything seemed to be satisfactory. Suddenly a club, centered about a collection of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century books, reported to have cost thousands of dollars, had come into being, established quite frankly for the purpose of encouraging undergraduates, chosen for their special abilities, to talk to each other about art or literature or whatever intellectual interests absorbed them at the moment. No one had ever heard of such an institution before, and very few thought that it was destined for anything more than complete and rather dismal failure. The late president of the university, Dr. Arthur Twining Hadley, admitted once that he had been opposed to it at first. He had tried to imagine how his own class—that of 1876—would have felt under the circumstances, and the result had not been stimulating. But, as he explained, there seemed to have grown up in college since his time a generation that, because of its contact with certain members of the faculty, wanted to read, and wanted to talk about itself and about books—he did not pretend to under-

stand it, but at least its individuality had to be acknowledged even in the midst of a conservative society.

To Alexander Smith Cochran will always belong the distinction of creating the Elizabethan Club. Several years after he had been graduated from college, he wrote to Professor William Lyon Phelps that he had been amusing himself for some time by collecting plays and poems published during the reign of Queen Elizabeth; as he had particularly liked Mr. Phelps's course in Elizabethan drama, he wanted to tell him about his books, and to say that a list of what he had would be sent immediately. With the misgivings that invariably follow such a statement, Mr. Phelps waited. He wrote at the time of Mr. Cochran's death:

When the list reached me, I nearly fell out of my chair. He had an astonishing collection. Some time after this episode, I received another letter in which he said he was about to return to America [from England where he had been living], that he had a plan of his own for the books, and that he would come to see me. He appeared and began to talk of a project that had been developing in his mind for a year. He said he had enjoyed his four years at Yale well enough, that the courses he had taken had interested him more or less, but that the one thing he had missed most as an undergraduate was conversation—good talk—with his classmates. He was sure that many men wanted to talk about the things which really interested them, but, fearing to be regarded as prigs or poseurs, they did not dare. So strongly had he felt about this—the good that serious conversation might accomplish and the unsatisfied hunger of undergraduates for it—that in his Senior year he had organized a small eating club with a few congenial people—at every meal, without any pretense, without any affectation or discomfort, these men had talked freely and intimately. Now he had come to the conclusion that the one thing needed at Yale, more than anything else, was an opportunity for unaffected discussion. In order to have this, there must be the right atmosphere. Accordingly, he proposed to give his Elizabethan collection, *not* to the University, but to the students. He thought it would be a good idea to have an Elizabethan Club, with these books as a center. There were to be no entrance fees and no dues, but only those students should be elected who were seriously interested in the finer things of life, and unafraid to talk about them. "If you will find a house," he said, "I will buy it." I found one which he bought immediately, and then gave an endowment for it. One of his most important and most enduring monuments is this club: the idea of it originated with him; the plans of its constitution and membership and program were designed by

him. In addition to his generosity which made the club possible, it is the offspring of his mind.

On the sixth of December, 1911, the building Mr. Cochran had had remodeled, according to plans made by Mr. George H. Chappell, was opened for the first time to the Club members. The *Yale alumni weekly* in its account remarked, "There were no formal ceremonies, but a large majority of those persons already elected who live within reach of New Haven were present to inspect the club house, and to see the first exhibition of books, prints, and paintings contained in the club's library." From that time, the Elizabethan Club, in spite of occasional jeers, has become a recognized part of undergraduate life—it has, with certain limitations, managed to fulfil Mr. Cochran's intentions in a manner that must have been a satisfaction to him during his life, and it has provided an asylum for many individuals. The organization is the usual one of president (who serves for a term of two years), vice-president (who is elected annually), secretary (always an undergraduate member of the club), librarian, board of governors, and committee on admissions. Candidates for admission are proposed and seconded as they are elsewhere: the qualifications for membership are rather indefinite, but at least it is assumed that members should be interested in books and reading, in collecting of some kind, or should have the ability to write or to talk well. There are five kinds of membership: faculty, graduate, associate, undergraduate, and honorary.¹ The number of undergraduate members from any single class can never be more than twenty-five. There are no initiation fees, and no dues. Tea is served each afternoon during the college year, and the safe in which Mr. Cochran's books are kept, together with a few others belonging to the same general period that have been acquired by gift since 1911, is opened regularly once a week, and at other times at the request of members. Occasionally, artists, writers, critics, actors, and singers give informal talks: these "club nights" were sug-

¹ In 1932 two additional classes of members were added, university and foreign.

gested by Mr. Cochran, as he believed undergraduates would like to be brought into closer relationship with prominent men and women who ordinarily come to New Haven under more formal conditions. It should be emphasized that the Elizabethan Club was never given to the university: it was actually given to five individuals, the incorporators, who, as members of the university, hold the Club in trust for the undergraduates. These men interfere with nothing, and even their existence was not known officially until recently.

For collectors and scholars the chief interest of the Club, quite naturally, lies in the books forming the Cochran gift. Mr. Cochran began his work of buying at a time when it was still possible to find good copies of the volumes published during the sixteenth century, and gradually he acquired, at auction sales or through such dealers as Quaritch, whatever interested or appealed to him. In June, 1906, for example, seventeen plays were listed in a Sotheby catalogue as "The property of a gentleman in Ireland." Of these, Mr. Cochran bought six: *Apilus and Virginia*, by R. B. (1575); *Jacob and Esau* (1568; the only edition published of this interlude); George Wapull's *The tyde taryeth no man* (1576; the only edition known); Thomas Inge lend's *The disobedient child* (printed about 1570; one of the rarest of pre-Shakespearean comedies); *The interlude of youth* (printed about 1557); and *New custome* (1573). In 1911, when the great library formed by Henry Huth and his son, Alfred, came up for sale after the British Museum had, in accordance with the terms of Alfred Huth's will, selected fifty manuscripts and printed books, Mr. Cochran quietly bought the forty-two Shakespeare items listed at the end of the first part of the catalogue. As the sale was made privately before the auction sessions, the world at large has never known what he paid for them. It is unfortunate, however, that the copy of Francis Bacon's *Essays*, the only absolutely perfect copy known of the first edition (London, 1597), was not acquired by Mr. Cochran in the same manner from the Huth estate. The amount it cost

him appeared in the newspapers of the time, and caused a minor sensation. Many of the Cochran books came from the libraries of Lord Mostyn, Robert Hoe, and other collectors of equal importance. Two of the volumes are, apparently, unique: John Phillips' comedy, *Patient and meek Grissill* (printed ca. 1565), and *The Queen's Majesty's passage through London to Westminster before her coronation* (printed by Tottill; London, 1558), a contemporary account of Elizabeth's first "progress." But the Shakespeares are, actually, the center of interest: the second edition of *Hamlet* (1604), of which only two other copies are known; *Venus and Adonis* (1594), the second edition, one of four known copies, and probably the finest in existence; *Troilus and Cressida* (1609), which has the title-pages of both the first and the second issues, with the prologue of the second in addition; *A midsummer-night's dream* (1600), the Bindley-Heber-Daniel-Huth copy, uncut and bound in paper wrappers; *Romeo and Juliet* (1599), the second edition, the Steevens-Roxburghe-White Knights-Daniel-Huth copy, with stage directions in manuscript on some of the leaves; the second, fourth, and fifth editions of *Henry IV*, Part I; the first edition, second issue, of *Henry IV*, Part II; the first and third editions of *Henry V*; the second edition of *King Lear*; the 1600 and 1619 editions of *The merchant of Venice*; the first editions of *Much ado about nothing* and *Othello*; the first and third editions of *Pericles*; the third edition of *Richard II*; eight leaves, uncut and unfolded, of *Richard III* (1597), exchanged by the British Museum for the perfect copy in the Huth collection, and bought by Mr. Cochran with the other Huth books; the first edition of *The taming of the shrew*; *Lucrece*, the first edition (1594); the *Sonnets* (1609); and the *Poems* (1640). In addition to these, there are the four folios, with two copies each of the third and the fourth. With his books Mr. Cochran also gave a contemporary portrait of Queen Elizabeth, painted by Zuccherro, thirty-one engravings, and the third known portrait of Governor Elihu Yale. No fully annotated

catalogue of the Club's collections has yet been made; a rough check list was printed in 1933, and this alone is available. It is true, of course, that Mr. Cochran wanted his books to be used, and that he felt their purpose was achieved only by allowing them to be handled and read. But the necessity of protecting a collection that has become increasingly valuable, and the impossibility of ever replacing anything that might be damaged or destroyed, have combined to bring about a somewhat legitimate disregard for his wishes. Club members and students are permitted to use the books, but such use is supervised by the librarians.

Mr. Cochran's death in June, 1929, served again to bring out the fact that, although the general public realized vaguely he had, in the past, presented enormously valuable collections to Yale, no one seemed to be sure of the exact nature of his gift. It will always be one of his most lasting memorials, in spite of the generous—and usually anonymous—donations he made to many charitable and religious institutions, that with his library as a foundation, he constructed around it a club where, in surroundings he himself had never found during his own university life, college undergraduates could year after year see and touch the works of the greatest Elizabethan poets and dramatists in their earliest-known form. That many of his books are irreplaceable, or that his Shakespeare quartos represent the finest small collection of their kind, is, in the end, of less importance than his conception of the Elizabethan Club itself. He made apparent in this individual way the wisdom of creative book-collecting. At a time when it is difficult for many reasons to gain access to great public and private collections, it is rather remarkable to have constantly before the eyes of susceptible young men, in one of their clubs, books that would give lasting distinction to the libraries of the most famous collectors. As a gift and as a memorial, the Elizabethan Club is the unique, perfect expression of one man's generosity and intelligence.

JAMES JOHNS, VERMONT PEN PRINTER

By ROBERT W. G. VAIL

FROM the early days of bookmaking in America, when the brüderschaft of the Ephrata Cloister labored and prayed over the translation and printing of the huge, ugly but justly famous *Martyr book*, on down to our present-day swarm of private presses, the people of this country have always had a persistent desire to write, print, and publish their own works. But in this paper we are more particularly interested in the rustic bard school of American self-expression, in the group of homespun and home-made littérateurs who wrote from the heart in very bad prose and who frequently went from bad to verse. Edmund Pearson, the chronicler of the lame-footed versifiers, says:

To become famous for queer poetry it is necessary to have a combination of unusual qualities. There must be an absolute inability to know what is ridiculous; absence of the sense of humor must be congenital. Great seriousness of purpose must exist, together with a persistent itch for literary fame. But all these will avail nothing, unless the poet has, in addition, a diabolical aptitude for the wrong word in the wrong place at the wrong time.

But, as Julia Moore, the sweet singer of Michigan, says in one of her famous prefaces, "Literary is a work very difficult to do."

The inspiration for most of the writings of this group is, of course, found in the daily lives of the writers and their neighbors. Domestic tragedy is their chief delight, and they generally have an obituary poem completed before the arrival of the undertaker. As Mrs. Moore says of her *Sentimental song book*, "This book is composed of truthful pieces. All those who speak

Vermont Autograph and Remarker.

Huntington Vermont, December 4 1866.

A word or two about the Autograph and how it should be recieved and treated.

On a former occasion in forwarding one of my papers to the publishers of 'Our Young Folks', I introduced it with a statement of the circumstances under which it is put forth, and would here add a few words in its behalf, inasmuch as there are those among the type & press publishers who turn up their nose at, and give the cold shoulder to any production on paper that come in the imposing form of great sheets as big as a table cloth printed on types in thousands of copies, or perhaps if I would agree to such an absurd disproportion, would have me receive taxes regular every week. altho' I on my part can on-

ly serve mine out one copy at a time in rotation. Now I desire all to whom the Autograph to know and consider, and receive it as a sufficient apology for contenting myself with the pen to jot down what I have to offer. that it is the only means I possess the only way I can afford to spread myself on paper for others perusal. Talk hislutely as some do a- having press & type and sneer or wonder at my taking the pains to print with a pen. As if a body could buy press and type & paper by the ream all for a few shillings! Any body that knows more than a goose knows better. Besides it would not pay to print such a little paper in such an out of the way place as this. and one of this does

of being killed, died or drowned, are truthful songs; others are 'more truth than poetry.' " How true this all is we realize when we read her simple narrative of the sad fate of *Little Libbie*:

While eating dinner, this dear little child
Was choked on a piece of beef.
Doctors came, tried their skill awhile,
But none could give relief.

Or, in the misadventures of *William House and family*:

They once did live at Edgerton,
They once did live at Muskegon,
From there they went to Chicago,
Which proved their fatal overthrow.

Domestic tragedy has not been the only theme of the native American poet, for we find verses on the Chicago fire, the Ash-tabula disaster, and the Galveston flood; scores of flag-waving Civil War songs, dozens of partisan political ballads, and many a melancholy memory of long-past youth, sometimes written in the author's teens, such as the following, chosen from *Purely original verse*, by J. Gordon Coogler of Columbia, South Carolina, the poet laureate of the Congaree, who wrote, illustrated, and printed his own books:

There is the same familiar stream,
Whose waters I oft have drank,
And the old mill pond from whose dark edge
I oft, so oft, have shrank.

Discreet love lyrics and Wordsworthian poems on the beauties of nature likewise abound, such, for example, as the following, also from the pen of Mr. Coogler:

Close by the violet, as if under its care,
Grew a little white jonquil, unconscious of fear;
Its hue was perfect as the leaf of the rose,
And its delicate odor was sweet to the nose.

This inspired poet was not unmoved by the charms and weaknesses of the fair sex as we know from these chaste lines:

All heaven has no water soft enough,
Nor earth no cleansing soap,

That can wash the crimson from the heart
That destroys a woman's hope.

But the ladies did not always avoid a chiding word, for the poet cries:

Alas! poor woman, with eyes of sparkling fire,
Thy heart is often won by mankind's gay attire;
So weak thou art, so very weak at best,
Thou can'st not look beyond a satin-lined vest.

We can be very sure that the bard of the Congaree offered no such false allurements to weak females, for he modestly tells us in another poem:

You'll never see this form clad in gaudy apparel,
Nor these feet playing the "dude" in patent-leather shoes;
But your children's children will some day read
Some pleasant quotations from my innocent muse.

Today this bit of prophecy has come true—but we will allow its author to bow himself gracefully out with this final word of regret, in which we can but sadly join him:

Alas! for the South, her books have grown fewer—
She never was much given to literature.

Most of the writers of this school, like J. Gordon Coogler, were eccentric bachelors who were compelled to become their own compositors and pressmen in order that the flickering flame of their candles might not remain forever obscured, for practical printers with a sense of humor and an eye to business would generally have nothing to do with them.

It is true that Lord Timothy Dexter and Rev. Mason Locke Weems succeeded in finding publishers for their entertaining, instructive, and generally moral works, but Rev. Billy Cook of Salem was, fortunately for us, compelled to become his own illustrator, printer, and binder—to the delectation of the last three generations of owners of his forty classics. But all of these immortals, together with Gifted Hopkins, Chapman Whitcomb (the appropriately named publisher and peddler of chapbooks), and Bloodgood H. Cutter, the mad poet of Long Island, have

found their Boswells and their praises have already been appreciatively sung.

The Connecticut Valley, and more especially that part of it which reaches up into the state of Vermont, has always had its full share of individualists—rawboned men of independent and original thought who could plan the capture of Ticonderoga or become the founders of Mormonism. Shrewd enough in the daily affairs of their hard life and brave enough in the emergencies of their rugged existence, some of them, at least, became locally known as “characters” and gloried in the fame of their mild eccentricities. In pioneer days Vermont attracted from the more staid New England communities many men of this type, men who did their own thinking and acted as they pleased; men who fought for the freedom of their Green Mountains with the authority of “the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress” or who ably waged their own private battles without the need of any other backing than their own bony fists or a squirrel rifle, as the case seemed to require.

A modern representative of this hardy and independent race was the late James Johns, of Huntington, Vermont. As might be expected his father, Jehiel Johns, was a veteran of the Revolution and the first settler in Huntington. As the community grew he continued to be its first citizen and served successively as moderator, town clerk, as selectman, treasurer, and finally served for three years as its representative in the legislature. His son and biographer says that “he was a man of strong mind, general sound judgment, rather excitable temperament, and rather eccentric and independent in his views on some points.” In all likelihood this was also a fairly accurate appraisal of the personality of the son.

James Johns, who was born at Huntington on September 26, 1797, was about five feet, eight inches tall and solidly built; a man of swarthy complexion, with thick, bushy eyebrows and a deep bass voice. On June 25, 1863, according to his journal, he “had my ambrotype miniature likeness taken at Seneca Place’s

Daguerreotype Saloon in Richmond." This portrait is now owned by his nephew, Mr. Norman A. Johns, of Huntington, Vermont, from whom the author of this article secured a photographic copy. Johns was keen, alert, and inquisitive, and nothing happened in his own or the adjoining towns about which he did not immediately hear, form a very decided opinion, and promptly place on record among the voluminous historical notes which he carefully preserved. In the Green Mountains community where he spent his entire life as a farmer, there was little opportunity for more than a district school education, but Johns was a constant reader and an eager searcher for information on every conceivable subject. He was an eccentric old bachelor and gloried in it and seems to have had a variety of talents and an uncontrollable desire to see his opinions and his name in print. He not only wrote history, essays, and poetry, but composed the music to fit some of his lyrics and then sang them whenever the opportunity offered. He also played the violin at many a country dance and had some local fame as the inventor of a quaint "piano" which played a tinkling tune on pieces of glass of varying lengths hung from wires.

James Johns lived in the town of Huntington from his birth until the year 1868, when he moved to the adjoining town of Starksboro, where he died on April 26, 1874. He began to write the age of thirteen, with the hope of finding a public, and he never gave up that hope. Stories, history, essays, and poems flowed from his pen into the hands of the farmers and villagers of the Green Mountains until he must have had many hundreds of his compositions in circulation. Though most of his ephemeral writings have disappeared, nearly five hundred are still preserved in the four or five New England libraries which have discovered him, in spite of the fact that only three of his works are recorded in Gilman's bibliography of Vermont.

As Johns left his Green Mountains only once or twice in his lifetime, his inspiration was entirely local. But he was well informed in the history of his state and read everything he could

find to supplement the tales he had learned in his boyhood from the veterans of the Revolution and War of 1812 who had been his father's neighbors. For over fifty years he kept a careful record of the weather, of births and deaths, and especially of the accidents so common in a pioneer community. Every bear story and Indian adventure found him an eager listener, especially as more than one had a member of his own family as its hero.

So far as we can discover, Johns's first published work was a thin collection of poems entitled *Green Mountain muse*. It was printed in Burlington by Foote and Stacy in 1828 and must have been a flat failure, for, two years later, we find the printers suing him for the non-payment of his printing bill, and diligent search has discovered but a single copy of the volume still preserved. In his *Journal of the weather* for June 8, 1839, Johns records having received from the printer an edition of a controversial pamphlet which he "contracted to be printed." Though no copy seems to have survived, his *Journal* gives us the title: *Sunday not holy, or a brief investigation of the merits of the first day of the week wherein the idea of its being holy time is examined and refuted*.

Though his first experience as an author had been unfortunate, Johns was by no means discouraged. So, on August 22, 1857, he secured from Boston a small hand press and became his own publisher. In his journal for January 3, 1857, we find this record: "Received a box of 25 lbs of Type from Boston Type Foundry that I had ordered." On August 22 his printing plant was completed when he "received one of Lowe's Patent Portable Printing Presses from Boston, which I had ordered and, [on the] 23d set up a form of type and printed with it." Johns discovered that he had bought more type than he could use with such a small press, for he tells us in his journal for February 11, 1861: "Boxed up and started on the way to Boston my fount of Pica type excepting a very few which I retain for contingencies." His tiny press could print a page only 4 by 6 inches in

size and so he soon found this method of disseminating his writings too slow for his eager muse. Before discarding his press, however, Johns had the distinction of printing on it a flood of miniature broadside poems and essays as well as the first (and last) books ever published in his native town.

One of the first broadsides from his press shows us the author's poetic caliber and also his editorial policy. It is called *A dedication of the press* and goes like this:

Come now O Muse thy presence lend,
This Press to dedicate:
For sure with it I do intend,
My course to meditate.

To Freedom's cause in politicks,
And Free Discussion too;
I mean it shall devoted stick,
What little it can do.

'Gainst toryism, slavery's grasp,
And deviltry wherever known,
I mean it shall apply the lash,
Their hideousness be shown.

For reason, and for order's cause,
It shall enlisted stand;
But superstition can't endorse,
Nor give it the right hand.

True temperance, it will befriend,
And useful learning greet;
But ultra whims nor humbugs can
No countenance from me meet.

Thus would I dedicate in form,
This little press of Lowe's
In Freedom's cause e'er to stand firm,
Defending it from foes.

The first book from his diminutive Lowe patent portable press was entitled *A brief record, of the various fatal accidents; which have happened from the first settlement of the town of Huntington, to the present time . . .* (Huntington, Vt., 1857). Its twenty-two pages measured but 3 by 4 inches in size, but in

them the author was able to record twenty-four narratives of disaster as well as a list of eleven persons who "died very suddenly and unexpectedly." For example, we learn: "In 1801 a son of Lael Bump, a boy about 7 or 8 years old, was killed by a tree falling on him which some other careless boys whom he accompanied to the field with an axe were cutting down. They not heeding that he stood in the way kept on cutting, when the tree fell and striking him on the head killed him instantly."

This popular narrative of calamities was printed in 1857, and on the verso of its title we find the statement: "Entered: in the tablet of fact, as the first book printed with types, in Huntington. By the Author." It was reprinted with a variant title in 1858 and again in 1872.

The second book from the little Lowe press was called *Green Mountain tradition; or Book of bears, containing sundry accounts of those sable inhabitants of the forest as met with in Huntington and elsewhere*. It was first printed either in 1857 or in 1858, and is advertised in one of Johns's 1858 publications. No copy of the first edition has been located, but it was reprinted in 1860 and again in 1870. The 1860 edition contained twenty-two pages.

The third book printed by Johns has the title *Remarkable circumstances: and interesting adventures, collected from verbal accounts and from various sources . . .* (Huntington, Vt., 1858). This pleasing collection of narratives should have been more popular than the first volume, for its thirteen human and animal heroes all survived, after the most unexpected (one would hesitate to say improbable) adventures. Here, for example, is the story of the "astonishing propulsion of a man from the brow or side of a mountain without being killed." The printer must have run out of periods, for you will note that the entire narrative is told in a single sentence!

I have heard it related by my father in his lifetime, of the case of a man in the vicinity of Berkshire County in Massachusetts, many years ago who whilst endeavoring with a pole or rail to loosen a loaded sleigh that had,

somehow stuck fast at a narrow spot where the road passed along the side of a mountain, below which were several trees growing, the tops of which were lower than the road where he stood, and beyond which was a cleared field: this man I say was thus engaged in endeavoring to pry the sleigh loose, (he being the upper side) when somehow the sleigh after being raised up came down again with a sudden jerk, that sent the stick clear over end for end, and the man with it and from it clear over the tops of the trees into the field beyond, a distance of 400 feet alighting on the snow; and what is the most singular of all without being killed, or sustaining any other injury further than perhaps the shock occasioned by the fall. I don't remember the man's name, if indeed my father ever mentioned it.

At the end of the volume the author adds the remark: "Odd fellows these, no mistake."

Remarkable circumstances was followed in 1865 by *The book of funny anecdotes*, which was probably the last book which Johns printed from type, with the exception of occasional reprints of his earlier volumes, though he continued to use his press for the printing of broadsides and the cover titles of his later works. But the press was too slow and so, some time in the eighteen sixties, the impatient author abandoned it almost altogether in favor of printing by hand with a quill pen.

As early as 1834, and probably for several previous years, Johns had published a pen-printed newspaper called the *Vermont autograph and remarker*, and it was this lively and interesting little publication which brought him his greatest fame. It was a four-page, double-column paper approximately $4\frac{1}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size.

Mr. James Buckham, in writing the history of the press of Chittenden County, Vermont, has the following to say of Johns and his paper:

In some respects the most remarkable publication in Chittenden County remains yet to be noticed. Although *The Vermont Autograph and Remarker* never saw type or press, it was, nevertheless, a publication of no small importance and interest. A limited number of copies, printed with pen and ink, were issued and circulated from time to time by James Johns, of Huntington. This curious, half-public, half-private record of men and events, is filled with valuable historical and biographical matter, and such copies of it as now exist are naturally held in great esteem by their fortunate possessors. . . . Mr. Johns was a man of opinions, and knew how to express them.

In a small printed slip which sometimes accompanied copies of his paper, Johns says:

I have a few types, and would be glad if I could print my paper by that means, but not having an efficient press to work them with I am under the necessity of having recourse to the ancient implement the pen and besides that I have not type enough (of all the letters) to print all the four pages with.

There is no record of the number of copies in each issue of the *Autograph and remarker* though there were probably less than a dozen. However, the following quaint letter from the publisher tells us the price:

WILLISTON, July 21 1855

Well, friend Peck, in accordance with your request signified at our interview the other day by the portico of the Green Mountain House in Huntington, I herewith enclose a Vermont Autograph and Remarker, (the last I have as yet issued . . . such as it is, hoping it may not prove very unacceptable. And in case you find it any way worth parting with any of the pewter for, you can (if you are not likely to be out to our place soon) forward it in a letter directed to Huntington, Vt., soon as may be. In regard to the amount of remuneration I generally let people give what they choose, but if you wish me to specify, I will say 25 cents as I shall have occasion for as much when I can get it.

Yours respectfully,

JAMES JOHNS

NAHUM PECK, Esq.

It is, indeed, amazing that Johns should have asked so little for his paper, for each issue contained five or six articles totaling about fifteen hundred words, every letter of which was beautifully printed by hand, not in the simple style of show-card lettering one usually sees, but in exact imitation of printed type. The beauty of its execution is no more surprising than the long life of the paper, for the forty copies which have been located cover a period of nearly forty years, from 1834 to 1873, the year before the author's death.

The publisher tells us something of the production of his paper in the issue of November 6, 1871:

A few words about the Autograph. In forwarding a paper of this description to a new address, a few words of introduction may not be amiss or out of place. It cannot well escape the notice of an observing eye that the Autograph

is, as the title indicates, a manuscript production, being executed with a pen by hand. Consequently it may well be supposed what is the fact, that such a mode of issue does not admit of multiplying copies like the press and types, one at a time being all that I undertake to get out at once. This I am generally able to accomplish in little more than half a day with close application. The matter is all written down on the columns directly from the dictates of my mind.

The papers so issued I mostly send off by mail to other publishers. Should it be asked how long it is since I first took up this notion of a pen-printed newspaper, I answer that my first essay at it bore date back as early as March, 1810, I being then in my thirteenth year. It was executed on a piece of brown wrapping paper nearly the size of this when spread open [i.e., $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{5}{8}$], and printed on one side only and bore the title of *Huntington Gazette* (I then lived in Huntington, the town next north by east of this). After that I used white writing paper, and sometimes altered the title as fancy dictated. I have not always kept it up constantly, especially in the first twenty-five years only occasionally. Have sometimes issued them larger on half a sheet of foolscap folded once, and in one or two instances on a whole one. The present title was first adapted [*sic*] in Sept. 1832. Finally, if it is wished to know who the eccentric genius is who gets up this concern, he's known amongst his acquaintance by the name of James Johns.

The editorial policy of his newspaper is stated in the issue of October 10, 1834, where the editor says: "As it is composed wholly of original matter, it is of course the channel through which we occasionally express our sentiments on political and moral points which we intend to express boldly without fear or favor of any man or set of men."

The editor was surprisingly well informed on political matters and expressed his violent anti-Jacksonian sentiments with force and clarity. He wrote eloquently against slavery and imprisonment for debt, believed in the reading of fiction as long as it was historical and not purely imaginative, and deplored the overemphasis on theological training in the public schools.

I am sure that the following brief plea for hitch-hikers must have been inspired by the personal misadventures of the author. It would not be surprising if a timid traveler, meeting this big, heavy-voiced, swarthy Yankee slouching along a lonely road of a cloudy evening, should whip up his horse and leave the indignant author to his meditations as he trudged wearily homeward.

At any rate, here is the brief editorial, which he reprinted on his hand press, perhaps to distribute on the seats of the democrat wagons standing before the village store:

Be accommodating. Think that the weary on foot can be relieved by a ride. There is one thing which those driving a team ought to consider; but which too many in their pride and selfishness forget or disregard and that is the kindness of helping the weary on foot to ride if passing in the same direction; if it be practicable. To pass an acquaintance by therefore when able to accommodate is as mean as it is unfeeling.

Johns seems to have been considerably put out because his newspaper and periodical contemporaries refused to take him seriously, particularly when they failed to send their own publications in exchange for his. His keenest desire apparently was to be placed on the exchange list of *Our young folks*. At first they were slow to respond and so our editor, in his issue of December 4, 1866, waxed eloquent, under the heading:

A word or two about the Autograph and how it should be received and treated. . . . On a former occasion in forwarding one of my papers to the publishers of "Our Young Folks," I introduced it with a statement of the circumstances under which it was put forth, and would here add a few words in its behalf, inasmuch as there are those among the type and press publishers who turn up their nose at, and give the cold shoulder to any production on paper that [does not] come in the imposing form of great sheets as big as a table cloth printed on types in thousands of copies. . . . Now I desire all to whom the Autograph [goes] to know . . . that it is the only way I can afford to spread myself on paper for others' perusal. Talk hifaluteingly as some do a[bout] having press and type and sneer or wonder at my taking the pains to print with a pen! As if a body could buy press and type and paper by the ream all for a few shillings! Anybody that knows more than a goose knows better. Besides it would not pay to print such a little paper in such an out of the way place as this, and one of this [size] is as much as I have any ambition to undertake. So let there be no caviling or affected wise suggestions about issuing the Autograph otherwise than it is but accept it as the best I can make it and tender exchange[s] only in reasonable proportion to the extent I am able to furnish it and so that I may know it is an exchange, which I can't if it is chucked upon me officiously week after week. This asking me, or sending without asking, more papers than are bespoke is too much like asking a dwarf to accept and put on a giant's overcoat, an overwhelming boon which (figuratively, for I'm no dwarf except in the size of my paper) I beg leave to decline.

Again on May 17, 1867, Johns speaks his mind against those who fail to treat his paper with due respect. He says:

I feel rather just now impelled to recur to a subject nearer to heart suggested by the neglect with which my last Autograph mailed to the publishers of "Our Young Folks" has been treated by that concern where I ventured again to bespeak the favor of an exchange. While I am well aware of the inferiority that exists in a comparison in size and execution of this little paper beside their type printed work, it seems to me nevertheless that the publishers might afford to vouchsafe a copy now and then without hurting them. . . . Respecting what may be said or thought by connoisseurs in literature of one's expending time and pains with pen on such a small matter as the little Autograph that goes so little ways I would just observe that tho' I am conscious of its inferiority in size and style I do not consider that inferiority any good reason why I should hold back from improving my small talent as far as it goes and such as it is.

After another paragraph or two, our penman ends his editorial with the remark: "So I hope the publishers of 'Our Young Folks' and the 'Atlantic Monthly' will take notice and understand."

The old pen printer's cherished desire to receive *Our young folks* as an exchange was finally gratified, for, in his issue of June 24, 1867, he says: "I take this opportunity to acknowledge receipt of a copy of the July number [of *Our young folks*] and also of those of May and June tendered some time since, for which the publishers will please accept my thanks, together with this issue of the Autograph." Then, after criticizing the quality of the fiction to be found in *Our young folks*, and emboldened by his success in receiving that paper as an exchange, he suggests to its publishers that they send him a copy of the *Atlantic monthly* in exchange for a specially prepared magazine which he proposes to send to them. As a result Johns sent to Ticknor and Fields what may well have been the only issue of *The Green Mountain miscellany or Huntington magazine*, which appeared in July, 1867. It was the same size as the *Autograph* but contained 12 pages instead of four. Its contents included a description of the Camel's Hump, the mountain which overshadowed the author's home; two of the tall yarns previously

published in *Remarkable circumstances*; an account of the cold summer of 1816, with its three days' snowfall in June; a tirade against the Millerite delusion of 1843; an essay on big and little books and newspapers; a very passable original conundrum; and a final, and much more friendly editorial on *Our young folks*. This little magazine seems to have been very much appreciated by Ticknor and Fields, for they carefully kept it, together with all the copies of the *Autograph* which Johns had sent them in exchange. I feel sure that they must have sent him at least one copy of the *Atlantic monthly*. I certainly hope so!

By 1867 Johns began to notice an unevenness in his penmanship though it was still remarkably regular and need not have called forth the following bravely written editorial entitled "Sensible of failure."

While endeavoring to present my few readers with the *Autograph* from time to time (by rotation), I must confess to being sensible of a deterioration in the penmanship of the paper, the effect undoubtedly of the increasing weight of years, only lacking 3 months of three score and ten. This decline appears most conspicuous on comparing the execution with that of twenty years ago, when I could imitate printing as fine as brevier so closely that you could hardly distinguish it from type-print. But although thus sensible of deterioration in the use of the pen, I mean to keep it going as long as the ability of my fingers to guide my pen lasts me aided by my eyesight, which by the way is remarkably good for a man of my age, not being under necessity of using glasses. To make a short story of it, I intend to wear out in harness.

Johns was able to continue his beloved paper until eight months before his death at the age of seventy-six, the last known issue being dated August 28, 1873—a remarkable record of sixty-three years of pen printing.

Johns also published, from time to time, a tiny broadside paper, printed on his Lowe press. It was called the *Huntington remarker* and contained local news and comments on current politics. It measured 4 by $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches and each issue contained five or six items. Three numbers between 1857 and 1860 have been preserved. Its name was changed in 1871 to the *Starks-*

borough gazette and by 1872 it had quite a circulation, according to Johns's diary.

The miscellaneous pen-printed output of this prolific author was so considerable that one wonders when he found time to work on his farm. There were dozens of obituary verses, historical poems, stories, running, in the case of *Arthur Bailey: Or the story of a foundling boy*, to forty-one beautifully lettered pages. There were songs, acrostics, speeches, toasts, and bits of local history and biography. The Vermont Historical Society has a large collection of Johnsiana, with other smaller collections in the University of Vermont, the American Antiquarian Society, and in the collection formed by Mr. Harold G. Rugg of Dartmouth College.

Here is one of the best of Johns's separately pen-printed poems:

ADDRESS TO WATERMELON STEALERS

[Parody of "Bruce's Address"]

Thieves who watermelons steal,
Thieves who seek a stolen meal
Can you not in conscience feel
Remorse for such a deed?

Now's the day and now's the hour
You must cease the vines to scour
Lest you feel the horsewhip's power
On your smarting hide.

Who that's honest cannot raise
Watermelons nowadays
His own fruit partake with praise?
None sir, I believe.

Or if they wish to taste the fruit
Ask the man who has a suit
And not go like lawless brute
Stealing without leave.

Who would be a thief in fame
Who of stealing bear the name?
None who have an honest aim
And respect men's rights.

Who would dare confront the law,
On his head its curses draw,
And thus into ruin fa'?
 Them that hate the light.

By all that's decent, honest, fair,
Let each one therefore beware
Lest he fall into a snare
 And be handled rough.

Lay the tricks of Satan low
Thieves no more at evening go
Stealing fruit, but plant and hoe
 And raise yourselves enough.

History fails to tell us why James Johns remained a bachelor all his days. Perhaps it was because he continued faithful to the memory of the little village schoolmarm who went away without ever knowing that he loved her. Found among his papers after his death was the following simple poem telling the story of his love. It is most fitting that this should be his finest bit of verse.

APOSTROPHE TO THE SCHOOLHOUSE

Schoolhouse in district number three
How lonesome now thou look'st to me
Since she who taught the school is gone
And from its daily cares withdrawn.

Tho' not among her pupils class'd,
My days for learning being past,
Yet have I lov'd while she was there
To view thee with a pleasing care.

For she who did the task pursue
Of teaching is as pleasing too
Possessing charms of features rare
As virtuous too as she is fair.

The thought that such a one was in
Thy precincts where I've often been
Did to thy walls a charm impart
That thrill'd with pleasure thro' my heart.

But now since she hast thee forsook,
 Has clos'd her task and shut her book
 No more I see thy open'd door
 Or windows up as seen before.

How lonely doth thy form appear
 To know the mistress is not there,
 Too lonesome thou to bear for sight
 Tho' view'd so lately with delight.

O that I might to thee restore
 That charming form that thro' thy door
 Was daily wont to enter thee
 How pleasing wouldst thou be to me.

But oh no more shall we I fear
 Behold our mistress enters here
 Or ever see thy walls contain
 The like of her on earth again.

Tis thus thy mistress has I find
 Herself around my heart entwin'd.
 A sweet intrusion I forgive
 I would but love her while I live.

And may her labors here be found
 Like good seed sown on fertile ground
 And in her scholars' minds bring forth
 Good fruit which Heaven help to nurse.

One of the most popular of Johns's pen-printed poems told the story of a bear which attacked an ox in pioneer days and was dragged by the wounded animal to the Johns log cabin where the author's father drove the intruder away with a shot from his flintlock. The poem was entitled "First settlement of Huntington: With an account of a bear and an ox." It began thus:

In seventeen hundred and eighty six,
 Jehiel Johns my sire,
 Came to New Huntington to fix
 The home he did desire.

Through twenty-four verses the narrative ran and finally ended with the comment:

Few of us, yea indeed I doubt
If there be any one
Of the young folks can realize
What their grandsires have done.

Appended to one copy of this poem was a neatly lettered slip reading: "I venture to send you this in the hope that it will be acceptable and if you are a mind to let me have something for it, it will be gladly accepted as being what I need at this time. Yours &c JAMES JOHNS."

The most valuable of Johns's separate pen publications was *A brief sketch or outline of the history of the town of Huntington*, a forty-four-page booklet embellished with an accurate map of the town. Being the son of the founder of the place, with a real nose for local history, the author supplied in this modest little work something really worth while. He must have made many copies, for at least ten have survived, dated from 1859 to 1872. This historical sketch was considerably enlarged and, in 1867, published in the series of Vermont town histories in Hemenway's *Vermont historical gazetteer*, and is still the only worthwhile history of its author's birthplace. Here are two of Johns's stories from pages 820 and 821 of the *Gazetteer*:

Having endeavored, to the best of my ability, to present the foregoing synopsis of the antecedents and some of the present statistics of Huntington, it will not be amiss, inasmuch as they constitute a proper portion of the town's history, to advert to and present a brief passing chronicle of some of the most prominent occurrences which have attended the progress of its settlement, such, at least, as are proper to insert in a work like this, including some of the fatal accidents which cut short the life of sundry of the inhabitants.

The first of these occurrences, next to the opening of the first clearing and erection of the first log-house, within its present limits, and its occupancy by my honored parents, Jehiel Johns and wife, aforesaid, was the appearance in his door-yard, just at nightfall, at the close of a day in November, 1786, of a bear, which having seized one of Elisha Bradley's oxen that together with his mate and a cow had strayed up through the woods to my father's lands, and essayed to make a prey of him, was dragged by the ox, as being the strongest of the two, into the clearing and up nearly to the very door of the house, followed by the other cattle. Their advent hither was first observed by my mother who, having just finished milking her cow in the field near the house,

was about getting over the fence with her pail of milk as the cattle and the bear, fast hold on the neck of the ox, came up (the presence of bruin among them being indicated both by the unusual bellowing they made and by the glimpse she caught from under the belly of the ox of his black, shaggy under-standings) and hastening into the house with her milk she acquainted her husband with the fact, who, taking his gun, went out to shoot the intruder; but it was not till he had twice fired at and finally wounded the savage foe that the bear was driven off. The ox thus attacked was found to be severely wounded in the neck, so much so that it did not get healed entirely under a year from that time.

In December, 1824, occurred a remarkable instance of preservation of life, amidst a fearful accident involving manifest danger of its sacrifice: Charles Swift, son of Lot Swift, then a lad 12 years old, on remounting a horse (which his father had borrowed to send him to mill with) on his return, to take him home (the horse having on a saddle one of the stirrups of which being lost off, had a looped leather strap to supply its place), a pair of bars intervened between the horse and the road, over which the horse, impatient as he was, made a bolt, ere they could be all let down, and by the sudden leap threw the boy from his seat clear, except unluckily his foot hung fast in the looped stirrup, by which he was dragged head downwards, the horse going at a brisk jog, for the distance of 100 rods, and this over a road lined on either side with stumps and trees. Fortunately for him, Mr. Swift's dog, which accompanied him, with the sagacity peculiar to that faithful animal, on seeing Charles thus dragging, seized him by the collar of his coat, and thus in a manner kept him from the ground; and it was probably owing to this interference of the dog that his life was saved, as well as his limbs, and he escaped without a bone of him broken or otherwise harmed.

At the end of this history the old pen printer has a word to say about himself, and so we will let him finish this paper in his own words, and again in a single sentence:

It is here that your humble servant, the writer of this sketch, would beg permission—ere taking leave of this part of the historical reminiscences of his native town, as one of the immediate descendants of its principal first settlers before named—to be indulged in a little variety on his own account; since, being somewhat in years, he must, ere long, be called to follow the fathers of the town to a last resting place, he would desire to be remembered in a record which may survive him, after he shall be no more, as the eccentric individual at present noted as the penner and publisher of the little manuscript newspaper issued for many years under the title of "Vermont Autograph and Remarker," executed in imitation of type-print, and as being the first also who introduced a sufficient fount of type and a small press, on which was executed the first compact typographic matter issued in town, among which were three

several small works, in form of books; being, 1st, "A Brief Record of Fatal Accidents in Huntington"; 2nd, "Green Mountain Tradition, or Book of Bears"; and, 3d, "Remarkable Circumstances," which works, though inconsiderable in themselves and indifferently executed, he feels are sufficient to entitle him to somewhat of fame, on which to be remembered among the native inhabitants of Huntington.

For my epilogue I can do no better than to turn once more to the sweet singer of Michigan:

And now, kind friends, what I have wrote,
I hope you will look o'er,
And not criticise as some have done,
Hitherto, herebefore.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF JAMES JOHNS

This bibliography is based largely on Johns's own collection of his writings now in the Vermont Historical Society. This collection, to which some material has been added from other sources, now consists of 46 printed pieces, 79 in pen print, and 269 in long-hand manuscript. The University of Vermont owns 1 printed piece and 18 in pen print; the American Antiquarian Society, 16 in pen print; Mr. H. G. Rugg, 12 printed and 6 in pen print; Mr. John R. Teft, 1 printed, 10 in pen print, and 4 in manuscript; Mrs. Anson Brown, 1 printed and 1 in pen print; and Mr. Norman A. Johns, 4 in manuscript, the three latter persons being Huntington friends or relatives of the author. To all of these owners the compiler is most grateful for their ready helpfulness.

PRINTED

Books

The book of funny anecdotes. Being, a collection of humorous stories, and droll anecdotes, of divers eccentric characters. Collec- [sic] from various verbal sources. By JAMES JOHNS. "Laugh and be fat." Huntington, Vt.: Printed by the compiler, 1865.

[2], 14 p., 24°. Mrs. Anson Brown.

A brief record, of the various fatal accidents; which have happened from the first settlement of the town of Huntington, to the present time. "Dangers stand thick thro' all the ground,/To push us to the tomb" (Watts). By JAMES JOHNS. Huntington, Vt., 1857.

[2], 22 p., 4° (4×3 in.). Original plain blue wrappers. H. G. Rugg.

Statement on verso of title: "Entered: in the tablet of fact, as the first book printed with types, in Huntington. By the Author."

A brief record. Of the various, fatal accidents. Which have happened in Huntington, from its early settlement to this day. "Dangers stand thick thro' all the ground/To push us to the tomb" (Watts). By JAMES JOHNS. Huntington, Vt., 1858.

[2], 22 p., 24° (4½×3¼). V.H.S.

On verso of title: "Second edition, of the first book printed with types, in Huntington, Vermont. By the author."

Contains twenty-three brief narratives and a list of twelve people who "died very suddenly, or were found dead," with the dates.

A brief record. Of the various fatal accidents. Which have happened in Huntington from its settlement, down to the present time: together with some inther [sic] places where the sufferer had formerly lived in town. "Dangers stand thick through all the ground/To push us to the tomb." By JAMES JOHNS. 1872.

[2], 9-12, 17-20 (fragment), 24° (4½×3⅜). V.H.S.

A brief record of the various fatal accidents. . . . 1872.

15 p., 24mo. John R. Teft.

Green Mountain muse. Burlington, Vt.: Foote & Stacy, 1828.

Johns records in his *Journal of the weather*, June 24, 1830, that the work had not sold well and that the printers were trying to collect the \$30 due for printing it. They were never paid. No copy has been definitely located though there is supposed to be one in the Vermont Historical Society.

The Green Mountain tradition. Or Book of bears. . . . Huntington, Vt., [1857-58?].

No copy of this first edition has been located though it is advertised on the back cover of *Remarkable circumstances* (1858).

This was the second book printed in Huntington, Vermont.

The/Greenmountain tradition./Or/Book of bears./Containing sundry accounts of those/sable inhabitants of the forest, as seen/in Huntington, and elsewhere./By JAMES JOHNS./"Gather up the fragments that nothing/be lost."/Huntington, Vt.,/1860.

[2], 22 p., 24°. University of Vermont.

Contents: Attack of a bear on an ox. The bear and four cubs. Severe encounter with a bear. Dewey and the bear. A bear whipped away. A bear eavesdropper. A bear blown to pieces. Men treed by bears. A bear soused in the water. Heroic exploit of a woman with a bear.

The Green Mountain tradition. Or Book of bears. . . . Starksborough, Vt., 1870.

No copy of this edition has been located but one was sold at Heartman Auction 107, No. 155.

Huntington. By JAMES JOHNS.

Published in Abby M. Hemenway: *Vermont historical gazetteer*, I (1867), 812-29, double column.

Johns's most important work. It would fill about thirty-four octavo pages.

Remarkable circumstances: and interesting adventures. Collected from verbal accounts and from various sources. By JAMES JOHNS. "Gather up the fragments, that nothing be lost." Huntington, Vt., 1858.

[2], 29, [1] p., 24° (4×3 in.) H. G. Rugg

Statement on verso of title: "Entered, in the tablet of fact, as the third book printed with types in Huntington, Vt. By the Author."

Advertisement on back cover for the author's *Brief account* and his *Green Mountain tradition*.

Sunday not holy, or a Brief investigation of the merits of the first day of the week wherein the idea of its being holy time is examined and refuted. [N.p., 1839.]

Title from James Johns's *Journal of the Weather* (1839): "JUNE 8, 1839.—I this day received the edition which I contracted to be printed of a pamphlet entitled 'Sunday not holy,' . . ."

Obviously not printed by Johns.

Huntington Remarker

Huntington remarker. Huntington, Vt., August 24, 1857.

Broadside, 12° (6 $\frac{1}{8}$ ×4 $\frac{1}{8}$). V.H.S.

Toryism, Kansas affairs, and "I may as well fill out this little Lileput of a paper by just saying I have procure [*sic*] me one of Lowe's little portable printing presses, on which of course I print this paper." Printed two days after his press arrived from Boston.

The Huntington remarker. Huntington, Vt., July 22, 1858.

Broadside (5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ×4 $\frac{3}{8}$). H. G. Rugg.

Contains five brief items including obituary notices of Thomas Carpenter and Roxana Rood.

The Huntington remarker. Huntington, Vt., May 13, 1860.

Broadside, 12° (6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ×4). V.H.S.

Political news and the weather, in rhyme.

Starksborough Gazette

Starksborough gayette [*sic*]. N.d.

Broadside (4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ×3 $\frac{3}{8}$). H. G. Rugg.

Author's political creed, historical notice of *Rutland herald*, and account of first paper mill in Vermont.

The Starksborough gazette. Starksborough, Vt., Septembdr [*sic*], 1871.
[*Colophon:*] Published by JAMES JOHNS.

4 p., 12° (6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ×4 $\frac{1}{2}$). V.H.S.

Local news and political comments. "This paper . . . is not intended to supersede

the 'Autograph,' as that will be issued as heretofore. This is only an extra affair got up for variety as an experiment."

Same issue, second leaf only, one page having same text, the other being entirely different. Printed on brown paper.

Starksborough gazette. Starksborough, Vt., August, 1872.

4 p., 12° ($6\frac{3}{8} \times 4$). V.H.S.

Political news and local events. "It is to be observed by the way, that I put forth this little type-printed paper occasionally, now and then by way of change, not to supersede the *Autograph* which will be kept up as usual. My first essay at printing a newspaper with a pen was made when I was a young lad in my 13th year; on a piece of brown wrapping paper about six or seven inches square and was intitled *Huntington gazette* it being in that town."

According to his *Memorandum of papers and letters sent in 1872*, Johns issued many copies of the *Starksborough gazette* that year.

Verse

The battlb [sic] of Bennington.

Broadside ($6\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$). H. G. Rugg.

Verse of 18 rhymed couplets. Imprint: "Starksborough Vermont. By James Johns."

The battle of Bennington. [Colophon:] Starksborough, Vt. By JAMES JOHNS.

Broadside, 12° ($6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$). V.H.S.

Nine rhymed couplets.

The bear hunt, or Bruin's error.

Broadside, 12° ($6\frac{3}{8} \times 4$). V.H.S.

Thirty-line poem, signed "Gun-barrel," narrating the sad fate of a bear with a fatal taste for mutton.

Biting at a skiff.

Broadside, 12° ($6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$). V.H.S.

Four four-line stanzas, signed "Hearer by report." An episode at a camp meeting.

A dedication to the press.

Broadside ($5\frac{7}{8} \times 4$). H. G. Rugg.

Six four-line stanzas giving his editorial policy. Dated at end at Huntington, Vermont, August 23, 1857.

First paper in Vermont, was printed and seen [etc.].

Broadside ($31\frac{5}{8} \times 41\frac{7}{8}$). H. G. Rugg.

Fourteen lines in rhymed couplets giving an account of the first four newspapers established in Vermont. Signed at end in pencil, "Jas Johns."

The fit comes on me now. A song.

Broadside, 12° (7×5). V.H.S.

Five four-line stanzas with the refrain: "I must and will get married, for the fit

comes on me now." The plaint of a thirteen-year-old girl with many admirers and an obdurate mother.

Give the Devil his due.

Broadside, 24° (5×4). V.H.S. (two copies).

Fifteen-line poem recommending tar and feathers for one "C.H." Signed "Voice of called for retribution."

A hit at slurring Christian, who croaked to me against cotenancing [sic] 'Infidelity.'

Broadside, 12° (5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ×4). V.H.S.

Five four-line stanzas defending the author's right to freedom of thought when criticized by "A.H.L." who, in spite of his piety, sold liquor without a license.

The Huntington non election. Or factious office seekers defeated.

Broadside (5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ×3 $\frac{7}{8}$). H. G. Rugg.

Three four-line stanzas of political satire against a doctor, J. W—k and A. R—d. Signed at end "Freeman," with statement at end: "Huntington September 2, 1857. Printed for the author."

The Huntington non election. Or factious office seekers defeated. No. 2.

Broadside (4 $\frac{7}{8}$ ×3 $\frac{5}{8}$). H. G. Rugg.

Five four-line stanzas, with statement at end: "Huntington, September 4, 1857. Printed for the author." A satire on two local office-seekers, a doctor and a millwright named Al. R—d.

Jockey to the fair.

Broadside, 24° (4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ×4). V.H.S.

Two stanzas of old song, not by Johns.

Let married couples alone! Or a lash for those who cut up mean capers.

Broadside, 24° (5×3 $\frac{7}{8}$). V.H.S.

Eleven rhymed couplets upbraiding the boys of Starksboro "who've serv'd C. and B. with a shiverree." Signed "Outsider; who's heard of it."

The Lyceum and its box. By a WRONGED CONTRIBUTOR.

Broadside, 12° (7 $\frac{1}{8}$ ×4 $\frac{3}{8}$). V.H.S.

Thirty lines of blank verse, signed "Still voice," replying to an attack on the author's satirical writings.

On Gen. Ethan Allen [in first column]. An answer in vindication [in second column].

Broadside, 12° (8×5 $\frac{1}{4}$), on yellow paper. V.H.S.

The first poem, in twelve rhymed couplets, attacked Allen for his infidelity. The second poem, also in twelve rhymed couplets, signed "J.J.," in equally bad verse answers the earlier poem.

A passage at rhyme making. Between Jabez P. Fargo & James Johns, one night on Camel's Rump, in June 1837.

Broadside, 24° ($4\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$). V.H.S.

Four-line verse by Johns with similar reply by Fargo.

Passages at rhyming. The following tilt at rhyming took place on Camel's Rump, one night in June [sic] 1837 between myself and Jabez P. Fargo.

Broadside, 24° ($4\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$). V.H.S.

Two four-line stanzas by Johns and one by Fargo.

A recipe for saving economy. As illustrated by the legal decision of the last Legislature, on a certain town petition: Or how to get rid of application for charity.

Broadside, 12° ($6\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$). V.H.S.

Fourteen rhymed couplets, signed "Satiricus," on local politics of 1858.

Remember me. [Colophon:] Respectfully inscribed to Misses Rosilla, and Rosina Irish. By JAMES JOHNS. Huntington, Vt., February 26, 1861.

Broadside, 12° ($6\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$). V.H.S.

Seven four-line stanzas to two little girls about to move out of town.

The ruffian Brooks, dead!

Broadside, 16° ($5\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$). V.H.S.

Four four-line stanzas on the border ruffianism of "Kansas," signed "Green Mountain bard."

A small souled sleighinnng [sic] party. [Colophon:] Starksborough, March 4, 1872.

Broadside, 12° ($6\frac{1}{4} \times 4$). V.H.S.

Eleven rhymed couplets, signed "One who thinks." Records the ingratitude of a Good Templars lodge which failed to pay for its entertainment on a sleigh ride to Ferrisburgh.

To a pretty infant.

Broadside, 12° ($6\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$). V.H.S.

Seven four-line stanzas, signed "Ami-cœur."

Acrosticks in Verse

[Acrostick to William Hawkins]. [Colophon:] Starksborough, Vt. By JAMES JOHNS. June, 1868.

Broadside, 12° ($7 \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.

Laudatory couplets.

Acrostick. [TO MARY ELIZABETH JOHNS.] [*Colophon:*] Starksborough, Vt. By JAMES JOHNS. August 2, 1873.

Broadside, 12° ($6\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$). V.H.S.

Laudatory couplets.

Acrostick. [TO ANDREW JOHNSON.] [*Colophon:*] Starksborough, Vt., November 15, 1868.

Broadside, 24° ($4\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$). V.H.S.

Criticism of a retiring Governor, signed "J.J."

Acrostick. [TO MAXIMILIAN.] [*Colophon:*] Huntington, Vt., 1867. By JAMES JOHNS.

Broadside, 24° ($4\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{5}{8}$). V.H.S.

Critical couplets celebrating the emperor's execution.

Acrostick. [TO LAURA HANNAH PIERCE.] [*Colophon:*] Huntington, Vt. By JAS. JOHNS. January 7, 1865.

Broadside, 12° ($6\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.

Laudatory rhymed couplets.

Acrostick. [TO DOLLY ANN SPRAGUE.] [*Colophon:*] Huntington, Vt. By JAS. JOHNS. August 31, 1865.

Broadside, 12° ($6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$). V.H.S.

Laudatory rhymed couplets.

Obituary Verse

On the death of David Caswell. Who died suddenly May 10 1865, aged 76. [*Colophon:*] Huntington, Vt. By JAS. JOHNS. June 7, 1865.

Broadside, printed on both recto and verso, 12° ($7\frac{3}{8} \times 4$). V.H.S.

Nine four-line stanzas.

On the death of Julia Ann, second wife of Joel S. Johns, who died January 9th, 1846, aged 24 years.

Broadside, 8° ($9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$). V.H.S.

Thirteen four-line stanzas, printed in double column with ornamental border. Not printed on Johns's press but obviously written by him.

On the death of Mrs. Sally Ring.

Broadside ($6\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$). H. G. Rugg.

Eight four-line stanzas signed at end "J.J."

On the death of Mrs. Eunice Swift. [*Colophon:*] Huntington, Vt. Composed and printed by J. JOHNS.

Five four-line stanzas. V.H.S.

Prose

Be accomodating. Think that the weary on foot can be relieved by a ride.

Broadside (3×4 in.). H. G. Rugg.

Nine-line prose plea for hitch-hikers.

The fatal accident. Composed in reference to the fatal accident of August 1856, by which James Crane lost his life. [Colophon:] First composed and printed August 29, 1856. J. J.

Broadside, 24° ($4\frac{1}{4} \times 4$). V.H.S.

Crane was killed in a boiler explosion.

A few thoughts on marriage.

4 p., 24° ($4\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$). Imperfect. V.H.S.

The beginning of an essay, part of which is lost.

Green Mountain tradition. Attack of a bear on an ox.

Broadside, 24° ($4\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$). V.H.S.

The beginning of an incomplete story, probably continued on another broadside, now lost, which was intended to accompany this first leaf.

Human nature, as acted by some. Or how men's humours shirks doing right.

Broadside, 12° ($6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$). V.H.S.

Moral essay, signed "Modern Mordecai." Printed on both sides of the leaf.

I have a few types, and would be glad if I could print my paper by that means, but not having an efficient press to work them with I am under the necessity of having recourse to the ancient implement the pen; and besides that I have not type enough (of all the letters) to print all the four pages with. [Signed in pencil:] JAS. JOHNS.

Broadside ($3\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$). H. G. Rugg.

Matrimonial notice.

Broadside, 24° ($4\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{5}{8}$). V.H.S.

Notice of marriage of Mr. Timothy Drinkwater and Miss Lydia Morrill, of Hinesburgh, "the 5 instant," with four-line punning verse.

National Republican ticket.

Broadside, 16° ($5\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$). V.H.S.

Ulysses S. Grant, for President; Henry Wilson, for Vice-President; five electors and Member of Congress.

Obituary notices.

Broadside, 24° ($4\frac{1}{8} \times 3$). V.H.S.

One Huntington and one Starksborough notice, with request for printers to publish in their papers.

One never failing well.

Broadside, 24° ($4\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.

Historical note on a remarkable well on the author's farm in Starksborough.

Original conundrums. By a live Yanree [sic] [Colophon:] Starlsborough [sic], Vt., Sept. 4, 1871. By JAMES JOHNS.

Broadside, 24° ($4\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$). V.H.S.

Four conundrums with answers.

Political notice.

Broadside, 24° ($4\frac{3}{4} \times 4$). V.H.S.

Notice of a meeting of the Republicans of Huntington to nominate a representative in the Legislature. Issued by order of the Town Committee. Undated.

A protest.

Broadside, 12° ($7\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.

Editorial against "When in Rome, do as the Romans do," signed "J.J."

[Questions-and-answers card game.]

17 printed slips, each containing a question or answer, apparently devised by James Johns and printed on his press. V.H.S.

A spicing of humour.

Broadside, 24° ($5\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$). V.H.S.

A page of punning questions, signed "Comic querist."

Wonders.

Broadside, 24° ($4\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{5}{8}$). V.H.S.

Four punning questions.

PEN PRINTED

*Local History**A brief sketch or outline, of the history of the town of Huntington, Chittenden County, Vermont. . . .* By JAMES JOHNS. . . . [Caption title.] [1859.]

44 p., 12° ($6\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). Vt. State Library; photostat in A.A.S.

Copy prepared for Pliny H. White, accompanied by 3 p. A.L.S. of author, dated at Huntington, November 14, 1859.

A brief sketch or outline: of the history of the town of Huntington. . . .

By JAMES JOHNS. Huntington, Vt., 1861.

[2], 44 p., 12° ($6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.

Contains "A claim to remembrance" on last page, not in all copies, in which the author tells of being the publisher of the *Vermont autograph and remarker* and of having established the first printing press in Huntington.

A brief sketch or outline of the history of the [sic] The Town of Huntington, Chittenden County, Vt. . . . By JAMES JOHNS. Huntington, Vt., 1861.

[2], 44, [1], p., 12°. University of Vermont.

A brief sketch or outline of the history of the town of Huntington: Chittenden County, Vermont. . . . By JAMES JOHNS. Huntington, Vt., MDCCCLXIII [1863]. Executed by the author.

[2], 44, [1] p., 12° ($6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$). A.A.S.

Contains, on last page, "Postscript addenda" not in all copies, in which the author tells of being the publisher of the *Vermont autograph and remarker* and of having established the first printing press in Huntington.

According to his *Memorandum of papers and letters sent*, Johns issued copies of the *History* as follows: two copies in 1861 and two in 1872. Other copies, dates unknown, in Huntington town clerk's office and in the private library of Mr. Harold H. Rugg.

Former inhabitants of Huntington on the river road between the two villages.

2 p., 12° ($6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.

List of eighty-seven former citizens.

Former inhabitants of Huntington South Village, not now there.

Broadside, 12° ($6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$). V.H.S.

List of sixty former citizens.

Former inhabitants on [sic] Huntington East Hill not now there.

2 p., 12° ($6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.

List of eighty-nine former citizens.

A historical dictionary, or alphabetical index to the history of Huntington. For the last ten years. [3-line quotation:] "Printed for the good of all, that they may learn to shun the paths of vice." 1817. [Title and one leaf only.]

4+ p., 24mo. John R. Teft.

List of former inhabitants of Hinesburgh whom I have known and heard of at the time,—not now there.

3 p., 12° ($7 \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.

List of two hundred former citizens.

List of people in Duxbury [and Moretown] I have known, not now there.

Broadside, 12° ($6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.

List of thirty-three former citizens of Duxbury and ten of Moretown.

Names of the original grantee proprietors of New Huntington. Charter.

Broadside, 12° ($7 \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.

List of sixty-three proprietors.

Remarkable circumstances and interesting adventures of various persons in this country. Compiled from verbal accounts. By JAMES JOHNS. [Caption title. Colophon:] Huntington, Vt., 1851.

17 p., 12° (6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ×4). Autograph of author on front wrapper. A.A.S.

Contains twelve narratives.

Remarkable circumstances and interesting adventures of various persons. Compiled from verbal accounts. By JAMES JOHNS. "Gather up the fragments, that nothing be lost." Huntington, Vt. Penned in this style by the author. 1864.

[2], 19 p., 12° (7×4 $\frac{3}{8}$). A.A.S.

Fourteen narratives proving that truth is stranger than fiction—especially when tinged with imagination.

According to his *Memorandum of papers and letters sent in 1861*, Johns issued two copies of *Remarkable circumstances* that year.

Vermont Autograph and Remarker

Vermont autograph and remarker. Huntington, Vt., to 1870; Starksborough, after 1870.

October 10, 1834. 4 p., double column, 12° (6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ×4 $\frac{1}{8}$). A.A.S.

June 25, 1843. 4 p., double column, 12° (6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ×4). V.H.S.

August 24, 1847. 4 p., double column, 12° (6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ×3 $\frac{3}{8}$). A.A.S.

January 8, 1851: 4 p., double column, 12° (6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ×4). H. G. Rugg.

July 19, 1855. University of Vermont.

June 16, 1856: Judge H. E. Pickersgill. (Heartman Auction 219 [October 4, 1930], No. 347.)

September 3, 1856: Judge H. E. Pickersgill. (Heartman Auction 219 [October 4, 1930], No. 347.)

October 28, 1857: 4 p., double column, 12° (6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ×4 $\frac{1}{8}$). V.H.S.

July 2, 1858; 4 p., double column, 12° (6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ×4 $\frac{1}{8}$). V.H.S.

November 19, 1860. University of Vermont.

April 15, 1861: University of Vermont.

December 29, 1861: University of Vermont.

June 2, 1862, with "Supplement continued": 1 p. University of Vermont.

September 17, 1863: University of Vermont.

January 25, 1864: University of Vermont

March 3, 1864: Judge H. E. Pickersgill. (Heartman Auction 219 [October 4, 1930], No. 347. This, together with the issues of June 16 and September 3, 1856, were sold for \$15.50).

March 9, 1864: University of Vermont.

April 27, 1864: University of Vermont. This copy is reprinted in full in Hemenway's *Vermont gazetteer*, I, 828-29.

May 16, 1864: University of Vermont.

June 8, 1864: University of Vermont.

July 5, 1864: "Ten cents." University of Vermont.

December 4, 1866: 4 p., double column, 12° (6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ×4 $\frac{1}{8}$). A.A.S.

- March 14, 1867: 4 p., double column, 12° ($7 \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.
 Copy sent for exchange with the *Vermont*.
 May 17, 1867: 4 p., double column, 12° ($7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). A.A.S.
 June 24, 1867: 4 p., double column, 12° ($7\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). A.A.S.
 November 30, 1869: University of Vermont.
 April 21, 1870: John R. Teft.
 October 9, 1870: John R. Teft.
 December 4, 1870: University of Vermont.
 January 15, 1871: John R. Teft.
 March 14, 1871: University of Vermont.
 November 6, 1871: 4 p., double column, 12° ($6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S. Copy sent for exchange with the *Woodstock post*.
 February 4, 1872: University of Vermont.
 April 19, 1872: 4 p., double column, 12° ($6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$). V.H.S. Political news and early Vermont printing.
 December 24, 1872: University of Vermont.
 February 13, 1873: 4 p., double column, 12° ($6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.
 April 9, 1873: John R. Teft.
 June 22, 1873: John R. Teft.
 August 25, 1873: John R. Teft.
 August 28, 1873: John R. Teft.

The Green Mountain miscellany. Or Huntington magazine. Huntington, Vt., July, 1867.

12 p., double column, 12° ($7\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). A.A.S.

Pen-print slip laid in reading: "It is to be understood that in forwarding this to Messrs. Ticknor & Fields I bespeak the favor of a copy of "Our Young Folks" in exchange. But a failure will not alter my tone one hair."

According to his *Memorandum of papers and letters sent*, Johns sent out six issues of the *Miscellany* in 1865 and one in 1872.

Essays

A recipe to make Millerites.

Broadside, 12° ($6\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.

Satirical text and pen-and-ink cartoon.

Review of the subject of attending meeting, in answer to Sawyer's yawp.

[An essay.] [1872.]

According to his *Memorandum of papers and letters sent in 1872*, Johns issued a copy of this essay in that year.

Fiction

Arthur Bailey. Or the story of a foundling boy. An original tale. By JAMES JOHNS. Huntington, Vt., May, 1865.

[2], 41 p., 12° ($7 \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). A.A.S.

Story located in Massachusetts in the eighteenth century.

Has printed cover title.

Aunt Lucy Piper's story. [Fiction.] [1872.]

According to his *Memorandum of papers and letters sent in 1872*, Johns issued a copy of this story in that year.

Caleb Covetwife's marriage; or out of the frying pan into the fire. A story for abusers of old bachelors. [Fiction.]

28 p., 12mo. John R. Teft.

Ellsworth, or the School of Butternut Hollow. An educational story.

According to his *Memorandum of papers and letters sent in 1861*, Johns issued a pen-print copy of this story in that year. A manuscript copy is in V.H.S.

The experience and adventures of Paul Peddlenews, a post rider. [Fiction.] [1872.]

According to his *Memorandum of papers and letters sent in 1872*, Johns issued a copy of this story in that year.

Here and there, or the fortune of a Green Mountain couple. [1865.]

According to his *Memorandum of papers and letters sent in 1865*, Johns issued a pen-print copy of this story in that year.

Julia Fitzpatrick, or the first engagement. [Fiction.] [1872.]

According to his *Memorandum of papers and letters sent in 1872*, Johns issued a copy of this story in that year.

A manuscript copy of this story is in V.H.S.

Sarah Wilson, or trials and triumphs of a young woman. [Fiction.] [1872.]

According to his *Memorandum of papers and letters sent in 1872*, Johns issued a copy of this story in that year.

Life and adventures of Ezekiel Saunders, an autobiography. [Fiction.]
Huntington, Vt., 1867.

58 p., 12mo., with fifteen-line presentation slip from the author.

Sold at Charles E. Tuttle sale, Libbie Auction (November 19-21, 1918), No. 1972.

The story of Adeline, or the mystery of Addington House. [Fiction.] [1872.]

According to his *Memorandum of papers and letters sent in 1872*, Johns issued a copy of this story in that year.

The manuscript of this story, dated 1868, is in V.H.S.

The travels & adventures of Major John Delabado & Capt. Henry Sabasax. [Fiction.] [1869.]

23 p., 24mo. John R. Teft.

Verse

Acrostick. [TO MARY BROWN.] [Colophon:] Huntington, Vt., June 18, 1864. By JAMES JOHNS.

Broadside, 12° ($6\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.

In verse.

Bear adventures in Huntington. In verse.

Broadside ($6\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$). H. G. Rugg.

Nine four-line stanzas and two lines of a missing stanza at beginning. Adventures of "one Mr. Shattuck," "My brother too, in year fourteen," and a Mr. Thomas, all of whom had narrow escapes from bears.

Conformity to custom, not a moral duty.

3 p., 12° ($6\frac{1}{4} \times 4$). V.H.S.

Twenty-five four-line stanzas, signed "Mordecai."

Copy of the poetical direction of a letter mailed at the post office July 23 1850.

Broadside, 12° ($6\frac{1}{4} \times 4$). V.H.S.

Addressed to John Ives, printer, Keeseville, N.Y. Eight-line verse.

A cracked house and a cracked match.

2 p., 12° ($6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$). H. G. Rugg.

Fourteen four-line stanzas regarding a man named Dewey whose engagement to a Huntington girl was broken off on the discovery that he already had a wife and family. Signed at end "Newsgatherer's Muse," and dated at Starksborough, Vt., January, 1871.

Darby and Joan. [Colophon:] *Select and copied.* Starksborough, Vt., April 18, 1868.

3 p., 12° ($7 \times 4\frac{1}{8}$). V.H.S.

Old poem.

A deputation from Pandemonium, or Going the rounds.

2 p., 12° ($7\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$). V.H.S.

Twelve four-line stanzas on a noisy tavern.

Experience in the developments of religious disposition in his [the author's] encounters with and observations of Christian professors.

2 p., 12° ($6\frac{1}{4} \times 4$). V.H.S.

Pages 25-26 of an essay in verse.

First settlement of Huntington; with an account of a bear, and an ox. [Colophon:] By JAMES JOHNS. Huntington, Vt.

4 p., 12° ($6\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{7}{8}$). A.A.S.

One of the author's father's adventures in 24 four-lined stanzas.

Accompanied by pen-print slip reading: "I venture to send you this in the hope that it will be acceptable & if you are a mind to let me have something for it it will be gladly accepted as being what I need at this time.

Yours &c., JAMES JOHNS."

Another copy with title beginning *Poem of the first settlement . . .* in the James Wilbur Collection, University of Vermont.

The fugitive law. [Colophon:] Huntington, Vt. J. JOHNS. [1850.]

4 p., 12° (6¼×3¾). A.A.S.

Sixteen four-line stanzas opposing the fugitive slave law.

A great sponge expunged. [Docketed on back:] *Allusion to Ez. Fargo's suit against the town.*

2 p., 12° (6¼×4¾). V.H.S.

Twelve four-line stanzas telling how Ezra Fargo sued the town of Starksborough for \$10,000 when he fell from a wagon because of a broken bridge and how he lost the suit; signed "Eavesdropper thro' a knothole."

Historical alphabet, 1861 to '63. [Colophon:] Huntington, Vt., Sept., 1863. J. JOHNS.

Broadside, 12° (6¾×4½). A.A.S.

Civil War events and personages characterized in thirteen rhymed couplets, with one line over for good measure, the initials forming the alphabet.

The Loco powwow in Huntington.

2 p., 12° (6¼×4). H. G. Rugg.

Sixteen four-line stanzas to be sung to the tune of "Yankee Doodle." Satirical verses on the local Polk-Clay campaign. Signed in pencil at end: "By James Johns Huntington Vt."

Mari ou de wild mor. [Colophon:] Huntingtun [sic], Novembur [sic] 5, 1851. [Docketed on back:] *Phonetic spelling.*

Broadside, 12° (6½×4). V.H.S.

Old poem in seven four-line stanzas.

New Year's address for 1st January 1841. [Colophon:] Huntington, Vt. JAMES JOHNS'S composition.

2 p., 12° (6¼×4). V.H.S.

The events of the closing year summarized in thirty-eight rhymed couplets.

On protracted meetings. Or drumming up recruits for the church.

3 p., 12° (6¾×4½). V.H.S.

Satirical essay in thirty-five rhymed couplets, signed "Outsider."

A place in place and out of place.

2 p., 12° (6¼×4). V.H.S.

Thirteen four-line stanzas telling how Bob and Annie, of Hinesburgh, quarreled and made up.

Substance of form of ceremony.

Broadside, 12° ($7 \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.

Humorous marriage ceremony for wedding of W.[illiam] F.[arr] and J.[ane] B.[ostwick], probably used in a mock wedding.

Certificate. [Colophon:] Starksborough, May 25, 1871.

Broadside, 12° ($5\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$). V.H.S.

Humorous rhymed marriage certificate for William Farr and Jane Bostwick, signed "James Splice'em."

That same old coon. [Docketed on back:] By JAMES JOHNS. [Ca. 1840.]

4 p., 12° ($6 \times 3\frac{7}{8}$). A.A.S.

A ten-stanza poem telling of the political adventures of William Henry Harrison, the story taking the form of a series of coon hunts. Obviously written by a staunch Whig.

Things which I don't like to see.

3 p., 12° ($6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$). V.H.S.

Fifteen four-line stanzas, signed "Tried nerves." A satire on social and religious customs in the author's native town.

[To Helen and Madison.]

Broadside, 12° ($6 \times 3\frac{1}{8}$). V.H.S.

Five rhymed couplets to a little girl and her beau, with pen picture of them grown up.

[To Julia on her approaching marriage.]

Broadside, 24° ($4\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$). V.H.S.

Six four-line stanzas.

The travelling editor's answer to the doggrel slangers. [Colophon:] Bungleboro', Jan. 24, 1858.

3 p., 12° ($6\frac{1}{2} \times 4$). V.H.S.

Twenty-nine satirical rhymed couplets replying to a critic who fails to appreciate the author's violin and piano playing or his habit of writing and peddling his writings about the countryside.

"Two are better than one."—PROVERBS.

Broadside, 12° ($6\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.

Eight four-line stanzas, signed "By JAMES JOHNS."

Verses composed in 1824 on cutting my foot.

2 p., 12° ($6\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.

Ten four-line stanzas, signed "By JAMES JOHNS. *Note:* The accident here versified took place in March just as sugaring was coming on."

The village school and its teacher. A new and corrected edition.

2 p., 12° (6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ×4). V.H.S.

Fifteen four-line stanzas regarding the brutal treatment of John by schoolmaster Robert Fleming.

The white pilgrim. [Colophon:] *Supposed to refer to Joseph Wolf, a missionary who died while abroad.*

2 p., 12° (7×4 $\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.

Twelve four-line stanzas.

Obituary Verse

On the death of Jerome Cady, who died in Wisconsin, September 22 1850, aged 21 years. [Colophon:] Huntington, Vt., May 4, 1852.

Composed in behalf of Mrs. Maria M. Cady. By JAMES JOHNS.

2 p., 12° (6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ×3 $\frac{3}{4}$). V.H.S.

Fourteen four-line stanzas on a deceased husband.

On the death of John Carpenter, son of John Carpenter, who died August the 12th 1863, aged 60 years.

3 p., 12° (6 $\frac{1}{8}$ ×4 $\frac{1}{8}$). H. G. Rugg.

Seventeen four-line stanzas, dated at end at Huntington, Vt., April 24, 1864, and signed "By JAMES JOHNS."

On the death of Nelly Clark. [Colophon:] Composed June 10, 1869.

Copied April 8, 1873. By JAMES JOHNS.

2 p., 12° (6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ×4 $\frac{1}{2}$). V.H.S.

Sixteen four-line stanzas.

On the death of Mrs. Nancy Clifford, wife of Ebenezer W. Clifford, who died March 5, 1863, aged 66 years.

2 p., 12° (6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ×4 $\frac{1}{8}$). H. G. Rugg.

Thirteen four-line stanzas, dated at end at Starksborough, Vt., November, 1870, and signed "By JAMES JOHNS."

A few lines on the death of Jessie, daughter of Amos Eddy. [Colophon:]

Huntington, Vt., February 28, 1864. By JAMES JOHNS. [Docketed on back:] *A volunteer tribute.*

2 p., 12° (6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ×4 $\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.

Fifteen four-line stanzas.

On the death of Augusta Diana, daughter of Josiah and Temperance Fuller, who died January 30 1850 aged 8 years. [Colophon:] Huntington, Vt., June 15, 1850. By JAMES JOHNS.

2 p., 12° (6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ×4). V.H.S.

Thirteen four-line stanzas.

On the death of Rosilla Irish, twin daughter of Harley and Ermina Irish, who died February 20 1867, aged 15 years. [Colophon:] Huntington, Vt., March, 1867. By JAMES JOHNS.

2 p., 12° ($6\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.

Twelve four-line stanzas.

On the death of Rosilla Irish. [Colophon:] Died the 20th of February 1867, aged 15. Copied anew June 30 1869.

2 p., 12° ($7 \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.

Twelve four-line stanzas.

On the death of Phebe, daughter of Silas Johns who died May 17 1827 aged 5 years. [Also includes two other poems.] [1849.] [In verse.]

6 p., 12mo. Mrs. Anson Brown.

On the death of Hiram, infant son of Charles and ——— Pine, who died ——— 1852, aged 2 years. [Colophon:] Huntington, Vt. By JAMES JOHNS.

2 p., 12° ($6\frac{1}{2} \times 4$). V.H.S.

Fifteen four-line stanzas.

On the death of Lorenzo Wells, only son and child of Robert Wells, of Duxbury Vt. who died 1843, aged ———. [Colophon:] Huntington, Vt., October 23, 1843. J. JOHNS.

2 p., 12° (6×4). V.H.S.

Twelve four-line stanzas.

Political Statistics

Changes in the Vermont Legislature of 1817 from that of 1816.

2 p., 12° ($6\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{7}{8}$). V.H.S.

Democratic members of Vt. Legislature—1815.

Broadside, 12° ($6\frac{3}{8} \times 4$). V.H.S.

List of members of the [Vermont] State Convention called to act on the proposed amendments to the Constitution offered by the Council of Censors of 1841. Held January 4th 1843.

3 p., 12° ($6\frac{1}{4} \times 4$). V.H.S.

Members of the [Vermont] Constitutional Convention of 1814.

3 p., 12° ($7 \times 4\frac{1}{8}$). V.H.S.

Members of Vermont Legislature. Year 1796.

3 p., 12° ($6\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$). V.H.S.

Arranged by counties.

A sort of legislative record. Members of Vermont Legislature, 1796, different from 1797.

2 p., 12° (7×4 $\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.
Arranged by counties.

List of members of the Legislature of Vermont, 1797.

3 p., 12° (5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ×4). V.H.S.
Arranged by counties.

List of members of the Vermont Legislature of 1798.

3 p., 12° (6×3 $\frac{3}{8}$). V.H.S.
Arranged by counties.

List of members of Vermont Legislature, 1799.

3 p., 12° (5 $\frac{5}{8}$ ×3 $\frac{7}{8}$). V.H.S.
Arranged by counties.

List of members of the Vermont Legislature of 1800.

3 p., 12° (6×3 $\frac{3}{8}$). V.H.S.
Arranged by counties.

A sort of legislative record. List of members of Vermont Legislature in 1801, different from 1800.

2 p., 12° (7×4 $\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.

List of members of the Vermont Legislature—1801.

3 p., 12° (6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ×4). V.H.S.
Arranged by counties.

Vermont Legislature of 1801. State of political parties.

2 p., 12° (6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ×4). V.H.S.
Arranged by parties—Democrats or Federalists.

Members of the Vermont Legislature, 1802.

3 p., 12° (6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ×4). V.H.S.
Arranged by counties.

Members of Vermont Legislature—1804.

3 p., 12° (6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ×4). V.H.S.
Arranged by counties.

Members of Vermont Legislature, 1805, where changes were made from 1804. [Same for 1807.]

3 p., 12° (6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ×4). V.H.S.

Members of the Vermont Legislature—1808.

3 p., 12° (6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ×4 $\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.
Arranged by counties.

Members of Vermont Legislature—1809.

3 p., 12° ($6\frac{3}{8} \times 4$). V.H.S.

Vermont Legislature of 1811. Political division.

2 p., 12° ($6\frac{1}{2} \times 4$). V.H.S.

Listed as Democrats or Federalists.

Vermont Legislative register, 1814.

4 p., 12° ($6 \times 3\frac{7}{8}$). V.H.S.

List of members of the Vermont Legislature of 1814, who signed the protest respecting the adopted answer to the Governor's speech.

Broadside, 12° ($6\frac{3}{8} \times 4$). V.H.S.

Members of Vermont Legislature, 1818.

3 p., 12° ($6\frac{1}{4} \times 4$). V.H.S.

Members of Vermont Legislature, 1833.

4 p., 12° ($7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{5}{8}$). V.H.S.

Alphabetical list of the members of the House, Vt. Legislature, 1833.

3 p., 12° ($6 \times 3\frac{3}{4}$). V.H.S.

Members of Vermont Legislature—1843.

4 p., 12° (6×4). V.H.S.

Minority, Vermont Legislature—1804.

2 p., 12° ($6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$). V.H.S.

Minority, Vermont Legislature, 1805.

2 p., 12° ($6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$). V.H.S.

Minority Vermont Legislature, 1809 [and 1811].

2 p., 12° (6×4). V.H.S.

List of members.

Names of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. [Docketed on back:] Copied Dec. 5, 1832.

Broadside, 12° ($6 \times 3\frac{3}{4}$). V.H.S.

Political legislative changes, gains and losses of town representation for a series of years [1808-15].

3 p., 12° ($6\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$). V.H.S.

Lists of New England towns which changed from Federal to Democratic and vice versa.

Speech of Governor Thomas Chittenden. Before the Council and Assembly of Vermont; October 1796. [Caption title.]

Broadside, double column, 8° (8×6 $\frac{3}{8}$). A.A.S.

[*Vermont*] *State Senate, 1843.*

Broadside, 12° (6×4 $\frac{1}{8}$). V.H.S.

Vote in the Legislature of Vermont, 1799, on adopting the answer to the Virginia Resolutions touching the Alien and Sedition Laws.

2 p., 12° (6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ×3 $\frac{7}{8}$). V.H.S.

Vote in the Legislature of Vermont, at the adjourned session in 1804, on adopting the amendment to the Constitution relative to the mode of voting for President and Vice President.

2 p., 12° (6×4). V.H.S.

Vote in the Vermont Legislature of 1815 on adopting the answer to the Governor's speech. Being a strict party vote: the Democrats voting for and the Federalists against it.

2 p., 12° (6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ×4). V.H.S.

Yeas and nays. On the passage of the answer to the Governor's speech in the Legislature of Vt. 1802, being a test vote of the strength of parties in that body, the Democrats voting for, and the Federalists against it, as reported by the Committee.

3 p., 12° (5 $\frac{5}{8}$ ×3 $\frac{7}{8}$). V.H.S.

MANUSCRIPT

Lack of space makes it impossible to give a complete list of the 275 long-hand manuscripts of James Johns, preserved, for the most part, in the Vermont Historical Society. Among them are 41 diaries, 10 annual records of correspondence sent or received, 6 local historical and biographical items, 77 poems, 23 acrosticks in verse, 57 obituary verses, 25 prose items, 21 pieces of fiction, 13 political and legislative titles, and 2 lots of miscellaneous vocal and instrumental music.

The titles of the short stories are particularly entertaining, and there is in the collection an interesting commonplace-book of poetry, apparently kept between 1830 and 1860, which has 108 folio pages of pretty bad verse, including religious, historical, biographical, and nature poems and a few prose essays.

It is a pity that extracts from the diaries cannot be included here, for they give a vivid picture of a half-century of the life of a quaint

little Vermont community and of the simple joys and sorrows, the enthusiasms and annoyances, the drudgery and the aspirations, of its most picturesque citizen. Many of the epitaphs in the crossroads cemetery at Huntington were written by Johns and some of them are unforgettable, but there is unfortunately no room for them here.

The diaries and other similar records of Johns's life are, however, briefly described, since they contain so much of the personality of this delightfully human and eccentric old Vermonter.

Diaries

[*Diary.*] *Minutes for 1823.* [Also] *Yearly chronicles. Minutes for the year 1824.*

12 p., 12mo. V.H.S.

Bear hunt, burning of University of Vermont, squabbles with neighbors, etc.

[*Diary.*] *Yearly chronicles. Minutes for the year 1826.*

16 p., 24mo. V.H.S.

Includes accounts of training days, the celebration of the Fourth of July, an itinerant puppet show with a clown, the death of Presidents Adams and Jefferson, etc.

A journal of the weather for the year 1830[-1873.]

38 vols., 12° (6 by 4), of about 28-30 p. each. V.H.S.

This series, as preserved in the Vermont Historical Society, is almost continuous from 1830 to 1873, omitting only the years 1831, 1832, 1837, 1849 (owned by John R. Teft), 1851, and 1854. Each journal was bound in brown paper, with a pen-print cover-title in most cases, the last three being printed from type. Though much space is given to the weather, there are thousands of items of local historical interest in the series, which is particularly valuable as a record of local births, deaths, and marriages. The number of pages and size vary but little over the whole period. The diaries are beautifully written in ink and are full of valuable history and racy observations.

Memoranda of Correspondence

Memorandum of papers and letters sent off by mail from the post office, 1851, 1861, 1865, 1872.

4 pamphlets of 20-37 p. each. 24mo. V.H.S.

From these memoranda we learn that Johns wrote annually a little over 100 letters, pen-printed and mailed 80-90 copies of the *Vermont autograph and remarker*, and produced six or eight pen-printed books and a few separate verses. These were either sent as exchanges for the newspapers and the occasional magazines he received or sent to fill orders.

Johns's correspondents included Daniel Webster, Denman P. Thompson, and William H. Seward, to all of whom he sent his magazine or other publications. In addition to the *Remarker*, he sent out several copies of his pen-printed *History of Huntington*

and other works, including, in 1861, two copies each of the *History of Huntington and Remarkable circumstances*, and one of *Ellsworth, or the school of Butternut Hollow*. In 1865 he sent out six copies of *Green Mountain miscellany* and one of *Here and there, or the fortune of a Green Mountain couple*.

In 1872 he was printing on his diminutive printing press the *Starksborough gazette*, many copies of which were mailed during the year. He also sent out the following pen-printed productions: *Sarah Wilson, or trials and triumphs of a young woman*; *Green Mountain miscellany*; *Aunt Lucy Piper's story*; *Julia Fitzpatrick, or the first engagement*; *The story of Adeline, or the mystery of Addington House*; *The experience and adventures of Paul Peddlenews, a post rider*; *Review of the subject of attending meeting, in answer to Sawyer's yawp*; and two copies of the *History of Huntington*.

Memorandum of newspapers, letters &c received through the post office in Huntington, 1840, 1847, 1850, 1851, 1853, 1870.

Six pamphlets of from 7 to 18 p. each. 24mo. V.H.S., except 1870, owned by John R. Teft.

A rather pathetic commentary on the life of Johns is found in the fact that during these five years he received only one hundred letters, mainly from relatives and his Congressman; 511 newspapers, including several from Vermont and Massachusetts, sent with some regularity, and odd papers sent by friends from various points; sixteen pamphlets, mostly Congressional speeches; and six books. One of his letters was a valentine, one of the pamphlets a dime novel—*The belle of the Bowery*—one of the books a type-specimen book from John K. Rogers of Boston, and four of the others included the following, which he bought from a New York publisher, probably at a dime each: *Funny Elton's comic world*, *The American Joe Miller*, *Fortune teller's own book*, and *Cupid's book of amative poetry*. Most of Johns's pocket money seems to have been spent on paying the postage on the letters and papers received, for his correspondents seldom prepaid their mail.